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Vol. 25, No. 2

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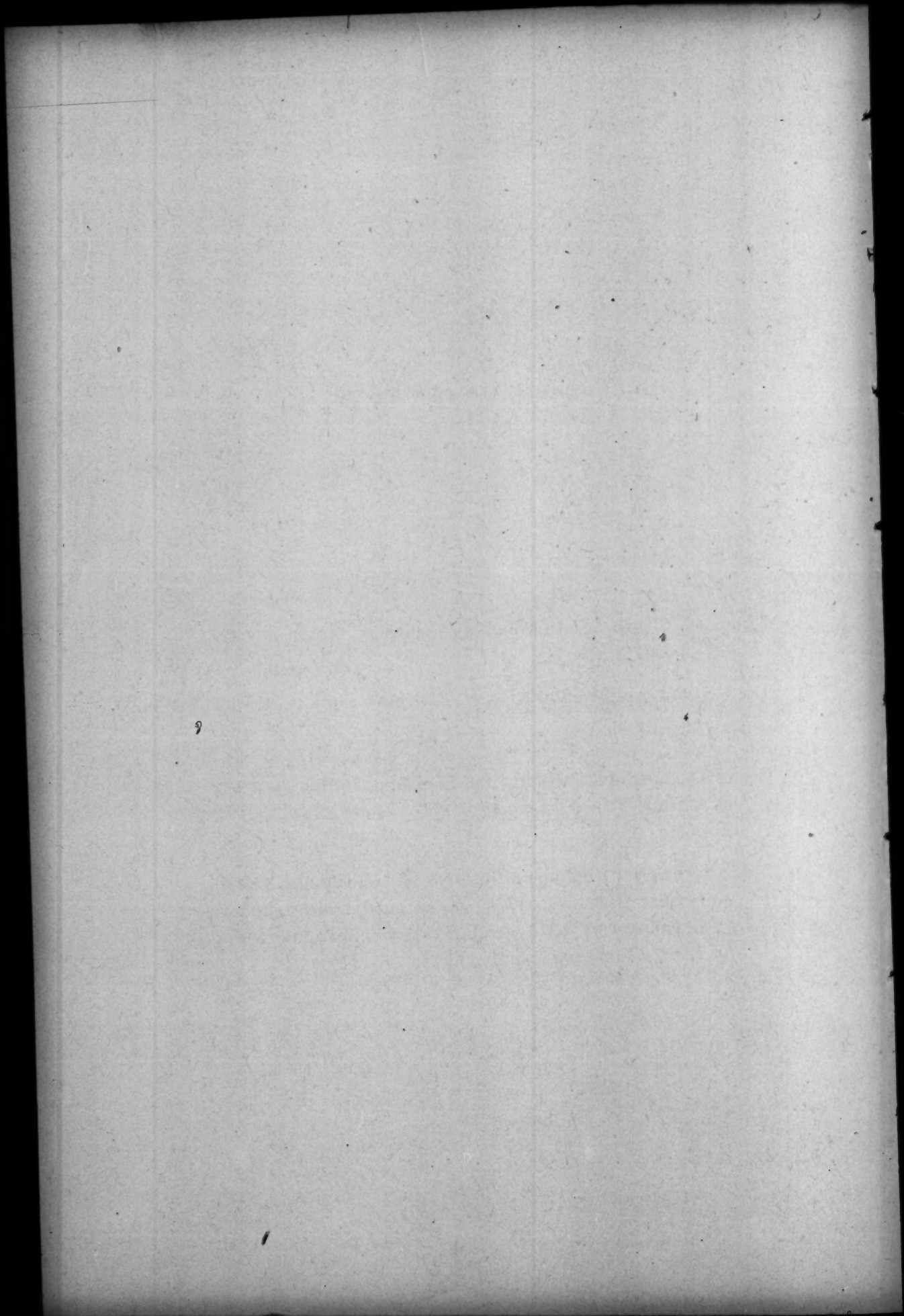
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SOUTHERN FILIBUSTERS IN THE WAR OF 1812¹

By HARRIS GAYLORD WARREN

In one sense a filibustering raid is an attempt on the part of a supposedly neutral country to gain the objectives of a military expedition without incurring the obligations and disadvantages of formal warfare. Any state with sufficient strength to maintain itself as a state must be assumed to have the means at hand for preventing the departure of expeditions whose aims are obviously hostile toward a friendly power. Filibustering expeditions are fundamentally a part of the Machiavellian school of international politics. As a Machiavellian device, the filibuster is in a class with such activities as subversive propaganda designed to undermine political control and to promote revolution in the provinces of a friendly power. The filibuster leader uses various methods of public persuasion, and this activity is made immeasurably easier if previous conditions have hostilized portions of the population where the filibuster originates. Such conditions have their origin in disputes which are intensified by political and economic clashes, and divergent political systems.

During the tumultuous nineteenth century, many filibustering expeditions were organized within the territory of the United States. The Viceroyalty of New Spain, independent Mexico, Cuba, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Canada were all favored with raids from the stronghold of democracy. The second decade of the century was one of intensive filibustering activity, and the most prominent raid of the period coincided with the first two years of the War of 1812. The old southwest, largely because of its proximity to Spanish territory, was the center of plots against New Spain.

¹ This paper was read at the meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Atlanta, November 6, 1941.

Numerous events had combined to arouse Spanish officials to an appreciation of the danger that confronted their prize viceroyalty. It had been threatened by the French, then by Anglo-American colonists. American independence wrought little change in the nature of the threat. The clamor for free navigation of the Mississippi and the privilege of deposits; the excursions of Philip Nolan at the turn of the century; the Louisiana Purchase; and the boldness of southwestern frontiersmen in penetrating into Texas—these were matters that served to increase apprehensiveness in the minds of thoughtful Spaniards.

Governors of the Eastern Internal Provinces repeatedly requested reënforcements² from 1805 to 1812, and the Aaron Burr fiasco was regarded by them as a portent of things to come. They were not lulled into a sense of false security by the Neutral Ground agreement of 1806 that established a no-man's land between the Arroyo Hondo and the Sabine,³ but continued to urge the importance of garrisoning Texas with more troops.⁴ The viceroy received warning from New Orleans in 1806 that "a strong party whose object it is to seize the Kingdom of Mexico . . ." existed in that city.⁵ In the same year the commandant at Nacogdoches felt that Spain was in imminent danger of losing New Spain to the United States. Again and again frontier officials asked for larger forces. Governor Nemesio Salcedo repeated the request in 1808 and 1809.⁶ An alarming report from Chargé Valentin Foronda on January 6, 1809,⁷ that troops were moving to New Orleans caused Salcedo's fears to mount and he asked in vain for an army of more than 5,000 men to protect Texas.⁸ At no time did governors of Texas underestimate the danger to the province.

² In mid-summer, 1805, there were no more than 300 effective troops in all of Texas. Nemesio Salcedo to José de Iturrigaray, Chihuahua, July 16, 1805, in Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico), Provincias Internas, tomo 239. (Typescripts in the Edward E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library). Hereafter cited as AGN PI.

³ There are numerous accounts of the Neutral Ground agreement. Satisfactory treatments may be found in Philip Coolidge Brooks, *Diplomacy and the Borderlands, The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819* (Berkeley, 1939), 38-39; and in Thomas Maitland Marshall, *A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, 1819-1841* (Berkeley, 1914), 26-30.

⁴ Apparently the pleas for troops were partly successful, since there were probably 1,000 of them in Texas in 1806. Marshall, *op. cit.*, 27. However, Nemesio Salcedo, in a dispatch to Viceroy Iturrigaray, April 5, 1806, placed the total of troops in Texas at about 550, with some 150 supporting militia in Nuevo Santander and Nuevo Reino de León. AGN PI, tomo 239.

⁵ Walter Flavius McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy* (New York, 1903), 64, quoting Morales to Iturrigaray, May 12, 1806.

⁶ Nemesio Salcedo to the Viceroy, Chihuahua, November 8, 1808, February 14, 1809, and March 14, 1809, in AGN PI, tomo 239.

⁷ Salcedo to the Viceroy, Chihuahua, March 14, 1809, *ibid.*

⁸ Manuel de Salcedo to Bernardo Bonavía, Béxar, April 24, 1809, *ibid.*, tomo 201. Bonavía, Governor of Durango, was ordered to Texas as a special protector of the province to aid Antonio Cordero, Simón Herrera, and Manuel de Salcedo. He arrived in San Antonio on April 17, 1809. See Julia Kathryn Garrett, *Green Flag Over Texas* (New York and Dallas, 1939), 20.

The turmoil in Spain after 1808 increased the danger in the eyes of colonial officials. Unable to expect aid from Europe, the viceroyalty must depend upon its own resources to hold the United States in check. When the Madison administration refused to recognize Don Luis de Onís as Spanish minister in 1809, officials in Texas ordered frontier guards to be vigilant.⁹ To them it was a miniature war of nerves. Onís warned Nemesio Salcedo early in 1810 that Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Americans were meeting in New Orleans under the leadership of Ciriaco Ceballos, meeting for the purpose of plotting rebellion in New Spain.¹⁰ In the same year occurred the West Florida revolution, and again the fate of Texas was called into question. Governor Manuel de Salcedo saw in an unprotected Texas an avenue of attack upon Mexico itself. Once established an army would be difficult to dislodge, while recruits could come in from Louisiana and Mississippi. He charged that the West Florida revolution had its origins in Burr's conspiracy and was precipitated by Napoleonic emissaries sent at the colonel's request.¹¹

The United States had a grand opportunity to stab its neighbor in the back in the fall of 1810. West Florida rebelled and at the same time Padre Hidalgo began his terrible *tumulto* in the village of Dolores. To Americans generally the words "Spaniard" and "tyranny" were synonymous—and equally loathsome. A war to take Texas in the guise of aid to the rebels of Mexico would have been popular, especially in the southwest. It was a grand opportunity—but the ominous shadow of Great Britain reached across the Atlantic. Ardent expansionist though he was, Jefferson could not advise his protégé in the White House to take such drastic measures. Be as friendly as possible toward the rebels in Spanish colonies, prevent any extension of European influence, and take what the fates might offer—these were the cardinal principles of American policy through the early years of the revolutionary decade.¹²

⁹ Bonavía to the Commanding General of the Internal Provinces, San Fernando de Béxar, January 3, 1810, in AGN PI, tomo 201.

¹⁰ Nemesio Salcedo to Francisco Xavier de Lizana, Chihuahua, March 3, 1810, *ibid.*, tomo 239.

¹¹ Manuel de Salcedo to the Viceroy, San Fernando de Béxar, November 21, 1810, in Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico), Historia, Operaciones de Guerra, Manuel Salcedo, 1810-1812. Earlier in the year Bonavía had recommended that 559 men be stationed at Nacogdoches, 458 at Trinidad, a military post some 40 leagues from Nacogdoches, 138 at La Bahía, 2,092 at Béxar, 500 on the Río Grande, 617 at Punto de Lampasos. There were 1,013 troops in Texas as of April 5, 1810. Bonavía, "Plan de defensa de la Prova. de Texas," enclosed in Nemesio Salcedo to Francisco Xavier de Lizana, Chihuahua, April 23, 1810, in AGN PI, tomo 239.

¹² See I. J. Cox, "The Pan-American Policy of Jefferson and Wilkinson," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, I (1914-1915), 212-39.

It was in pursuit of this policy that agents were sent to some of the areas in revolution. One of them was Captain William Shaler, a New Englander experienced in Latin America where he had aroused Spanish hostility by acting as a self-appointed apostle of revolution.¹³ Madison sent Shaler to Cuba with indefinite instructions. His ultimate destination was to be Vera Cruz; his general object, to establish friendly relations with revolutionary groups. Cuban officials discouraged the mission, but Shaler went on to New Orleans and planned to take a position on the frontier from which he might go on into the Eastern Internal Provinces. While Shaler was thus engaged, a series of circumstances combined to set in motion the Gutiérrez-Magee expedition which initiated a decade of filibustering plots and raids against New Spain.

José Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara appeared in Washington in December, 1811, as an agent of the Mexican rebels. All he received from the Madison government was verbal encouragement and expense money for the return trip.¹⁴ On his way from northern Mexico he had passed through Natchitoches and Natchez; the frontiersmen were interested in his mission. Dr. John Sibley, the Indian agent; Samuel Davenport, a trader of Nacogdoches and Natchitoches; and other local figures of importance knew of his mission. The return of Gutiérrez would be awaited eagerly from Natchez to the Sabine. And when the adventurous Mexican did come back in the spring of 1812, William Shaler was with him, paying his bills, buying his clothing, and offering advice.¹⁵ Samuel Davenport and other frontiersmen wanted to send a filibustering expedition into Texas. Profit, adventure, and honor were their motives—with honor more or less an afterthought. Lieutenant A. W. Magee, a West Pointer of high standing, was dissatisfied with his position as patrolman in the Neutral Ground.¹⁶ The promoters of invasion decided that he should be the military leader. Gutiérrez encouraged the plans but did not initiate them. He was valuable to the filibusters in the position

¹³ For Shaler's career, see Roy F. Nichols, "A New England Apostle of Liberty," in *New England Quarterly*, IX (1936), 71-96.

¹⁴ For the activities of Gutiérrez in Washington, see I. J. Cox, "Monroe and the Early Mexican Revolutionary Agents," in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1911, I (1913), 197 ff.

¹⁵ There are several dispatches in Special Agents, William Shaler (National Archives), dated in 1812, that reveal clearly the relationship between Shaler and Gutiérrez. Hereafter cited as Shaler Papers.

¹⁶ For Magee, see Francis Bernard Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, from its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1903), I, 683.

of nominal commander-in-chief and gave a diluted Mexican character to the raid.

The plans matured through the summer of 1812. Shaler's role is not entirely clear, but certainly he was an active promoter of the scheme to strike at Spanish power by capturing the scattered settlements in Texas. Professor Roy Nichols believes that "the filibustering party considered him a government spy trying to thwart them."¹⁷ But not even Shaler's excellently written reports conceal the direction of his sympathies. He did lose faith in Gutiérrez, but largely because the Mexican was listening to French emissaries and failed to display outstanding qualities of leadership. By August, 1812, the expedition got under way with small groups of "hunters" moving westward from Natchitoches to rendezvous beyond the Sabine.¹⁸ Among them were Henry Perry, Samuel Kemper, Thomas Lockett, William Fisher, Thomas Slocum, James Gaines, Reuben Ross, and scores of others, many of them from Natchez. The expedition began with less than 200 men but quickly tripled in size.¹⁹

Success attended the adventure from its inception. Governor W. C. C. Claiborne issued proclamations against it²⁰ when there was no doubt that they would be ineffective. Protests from Spanish diplomatic and consular officers were met with an evasive procrastination that made the *mañana* policy of Spain seem like the acme of speed. Nacogdoches fell without a struggle and La Bahía offered little resistance. By March, 1813, the royalist forces that had besieged the filibusters in La Bahía were in full flight toward San Antonio.²¹ Magee had died,²² but Samuel Kemper and Henry Perry provided even better leadership. They captured San Antonio and for a time Spanish authority was extinguished in Texas.²³

Disintegration set in quickly among the filibusters and their Mexican allies. Gutiérrez in true Spanish style allowed the brutal execution of a number of prominent royalists.²⁴ Thereafter he

¹⁷ Nichols, "A New England Apostle of Liberty," *loc. cit.*, IX, 90.

¹⁸ John Dick to Monroe, New Orleans, March 1, 1816, in *Annals of the Congress of the United States*, 42 vols. (Washington, 1834-1856), XXXIV, 1653-54.

¹⁹ Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, October 1, 1812, in Shaler Papers.

²⁰ Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne*, 6 vols. (Jackson, 1917), VI, 229-30.

²¹ Anonymous to John Sibley, La Bahía, March 5, 1813, encl. in Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, April 3, 1813, in Shaler Papers.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, June 12, 1813, *ibid.*

²⁴ Guillermo Navarro's Deposition in Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico), Historia, Operaciones de Guerra, Arredondo, III, f. 232.

had no control over the Americans. It was Henry Perry who commanded the army when a royalist attack came in the summer,²⁵ and Americans maneuvered Gutiérrez out of his nominal leadership and sent him back to the frontier, a disconsolate and wrathful figure on a mule.²⁶

Gutiérrez was fortunate in the event because the filibuster was rapidly running its course. General Don Joaquín de Arredondo was methodically but timorously approaching with a non-descript army from northern Mexico. At Natchitoches William Shaler supported the claims of the adventurer José Álvarez de Toledo to leadership. Toledo had met Gutiérrez in Washington late in 1811, and the next year he gave up nebulous schemes of his own to proceed down the rivers from Pittsburgh to Natchez. With him were Henry Adams Bullard, later a noted Louisiana jurist, and the experienced revolutionist, Juan Mariano Picornell.²⁷ When Toledo arrived at Natchitoches, Shaler urged the Americans in San Antonio to accept his leadership.²⁸ Joseph B. Wilkinson, Bullard, Picornell, and Henry Perry engineered the deposition of Gutiérrez. Toledo took command and Shaler prepared to join his compatriots in San Antonio.

Secretary Monroe was fully informed of events by Shaler. Just what he expected of his agent is not clear, but one is justified in believing that Shaler would endeavor to follow his chief's desires. Once the expedition was clearly under way, Monroe assumed a correct position. On June 5, 1813, he instructed Shaler that he was

not to interfere in the affairs of those provinces or to encourage any armaments of any kind against the existing government. The United States being at peace with Spain wish to preserve that relation with whatever government may exist. This is the spirit of the instructions given you at the commencement of your service, and they have never since been altered. . . .²⁹

The "Spirit of the instructions" could be interpreted with some latitude, and in June, 1813, Monroe had no desire to have Spain declare war against the United States as an ally of Great Britain.

²⁵ Ignacio Elizondo to Joaquín de Arredondo, Cuartel Subalterno de Rio Grande June 23, 1813, *ibid.*, IV, ff. 100-102.

²⁶ Henry Adams Bullard to Shaler, San Antonio, June 27, 1813, encl. in Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, July 14, 1813 (No. 84), in Shaler Papers.

²⁷ [Bullard] in *North American Review*, XLIII (1836), 238.

²⁸ Shaler to Monroe, Fort Claiborne, July 10, 1813 (No. 83), in Shaler Papers.

²⁹ Monroe to Shaler, June 5, 1813, quoted by Nichols, "A New England Apostle of Liberty," *loc. cit.*, IX, 95.

Shaler received the warning at Nacogdoches while on his way to San Antonio. He returned to Natchitoches and replied that his whole course of action had been determined by what he understood to be Monroe's desires.³⁰ Shaler was astute and he wrote for the record. It was a wise move on Monroe's part, for in August, Toledo was disastrously defeated by Arredondo and the boastful filibusters, the intrepid American frontiersmen, were in full flight.³¹

The entire Gutiérrez-Magee episode may be interpreted as an incident in the War of 1812, as a part of the westward march of empire, and as an episode in the Mexican revolution. There is no doubt that its organizers were southwestern border figures and its personnel was largely southern. Monroe's responsibility cannot be fixed with certainty; but if Spanish officials had even the most remote desire to join in war with Britain, the early successes of the Gutiérrez-Magee raid must have caused them to reconsider so far as frontier activity was concerned. From 1813 until the Austin enterprises several years later Texas was a "desert." The filibuster raid was at least partly responsible for that condition.

There was no other filibustering expedition of any consequence during the War of 1812; but John Hamilton Robinson, José Álvarez de Toledo, and Juan Mariano Picornell engaged in a triple rivalry for frontier support. The tide of enthusiasm for martial exercises ran out quickly after Toledo's defeat in Texas. Remnants of the expedition were reported scattered from Natchez to New Orleans and the men were "sunk in apathy." Nevertheless, efforts were made to revive the filibustering movement.

One of the leaders of the attempted revival was Dr. John Hamilton Robinson, a native of Virginia who had moved to St. Louis in 1804. Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike and General James Wilkinson held high opinions of his ability. When Pike made his famous journey into the southwest, Robinson went along as a volunteer physician.³² He had another experience in Spanish territory in 1812 when Monroe sent him as a special agent to

³⁰ Shaler to Monroe, Fort Claiborne, August 7, 1813, in Shaler Papers.

³¹ There are several accounts of the defeat of the filibusters at the Medina River. See enclosure in Shaler to Monroe, Natchitoches, September 5, 1813, *ibid.*, and Mattie Austin Hatcher (ed.), "Joaquin de Arredondo's Report of the Battle of the Medina, August 18, 1813," in *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, XI (1907-1908), 220-36.

³² James Wilkinson to Lieutenant Z. M. Pike, Cantonment [Bellefontaine], Missouri, July 12, 1806, in Elliott Coues (ed.), *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike . . .* 3 vols. (New York, 1895), II, 566.

Nemesio Salcedo at Chihuahua.³³ Monroe was thus in an excellent position, at least for the record. He had one agent, Shaler, closely connected with an invasion of Texas; he had another, Robinson, who was to bear the olive branch. Robinson's mission failed, but he had decided to do some filibustering on his own account. Monroe terminated his appointment by a letter sent to Natchitoches.³⁴ Unaware of this development, Robinson went on to Washington and tried in vain to persuade the Secretary of State that the United States should intervene in the Mexican revolution. Then he turned his efforts toward recruiting a force bound for Texas and dreamed about the conquest of East Florida and Cuba.³⁵ For some weeks in the fall of 1813 he traveled between eastern cities in the interest of his quixotic schemes, but he had unexpected competition.

General Jean Humbert, veteran of the French invasion of Ireland in 1798, of the Le Clerc disaster in Española, and an exile in disfavor, was seeking employment for his varied talent. After much loose talk and grandiose boasting, Humbert went from Philadelphia to New Orleans in August, 1813.³⁶ By October the Frenchman thought he could find 1,500 men ready to march if he could get supplies for them.³⁷ Samuel Kemper, veteran of the Gutiérrez-Magee fiasco, refused to lend his support; but the brothers Lafitte led him to believe that they would organize a naval expedition against Tampico if Humbert could carry out a land attack on Texas.³⁸

Toledo, discredited, discouraged, and destitute, was uncertain about what to do while Robinson and Humbert were dreaming of glory. Their plans finally aroused him from inactivity. He denounced his rivals as impostors and prepared to return to the frontier from his refuge at Nashville. Humbert continued his dreams while he traveled to Natchitoches in November, 1813.³⁹

³³ Monroe to Robinson, Department of State, July 1, 1812, in Mexico, Filibustering Expedition Against the Government of Spain, 1811-1816 (National Archives). Hereafter cited as Mexico, Filibustering.

³⁴ Monroe to Robinson, Department of State, June 25, 1813, in Domestic Letters (National Archives), XVI, 52.

³⁵ Robinson to Monroe, Chambersburg, [Pennsylvania], November 5, 1813, in Mexico, Filibustering.

³⁶ Luis de Cádiz to Pedro Labrador, Philadelphia, July 12, 1813, in Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Papeles de Estado, legajo 5557. (Photographs in the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress).

³⁷ Albert Victor Lannell to Toledo, Natchez, November 8, 1813, encl. in Shaler to John Graham, New York, February 7, 1814, in Shaler Papers.

³⁸ Toledo to Shaler, Headquarters West of the Sabine River, May 30, 1814, in Mexico, Filibustering.

³⁹ Juan Cortés to Toledo, Natchitoches, November 28, 1813, *ibid.*

There his absurdities so impressed the friends of Mexican independence that a group of them went across the Sabine and organized what they called a government. Juan Mariano Picornell, mellowed by a disappointing revolutionary career dating from 1795, was selected as president.⁴⁰ This so-called government soon left for New Orleans in search of support and there Picornell made his peace with Spanish secret service agents and became one of them.⁴¹

Robinson arrived in Natchez shortly after Picornell and Humbert left the frontier. A committee calling itself the "Friends of Mexican Emancipation" met in January, 1814, to formulate a program of action.⁴² With high-sounding titles from the Natchez committee, the promoter went on to Natchitoches to form another group.⁴³ There he obtained the support of Dr. Sibley, John C. Carr, John Nancarrow, and Samuel Davenport. While plans were being discussed at Natchitoches, an irate and resentful Toledo arrived with charges that Robinson and Picornell were combining in a French intrigue.⁴⁴ All efforts to bring about an agreement among the leaders failed, and a lively competition ensued for the favor of the 400 or so refugees in and around the village. Robinson crossed the Sabine about April 1 and established a camp with a few men. Toledo delegated to an assistant the task of impeding the invasion by setting up a rival camp while he himself went to Natchez in search of evidence against Robinson.⁴⁵ Threatened with arrest in Natchez, Toledo hastened back and joined his subordinate across the Sabine on May 2. He found, to his great satisfaction, that Robinson was a prisoner in his camp. Prominent citizens from Natchitoches forced Robinson's release.⁴⁶ This petty backbiting caused great joy among Spanish agents and reduced to the vanishing point any chance for a successful filibuster. The rivals remained in Texas for several weeks, but by August each expedition had melted away.

Spanish agents had little respite from filibuster threats. The Sabine comedy had hardly played itself out when a maritime fili-

⁴⁰ Diego Morphy to Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, New Orleans, January 4, 1814, in Archivo General de Indias (Seville), Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, legajo 1836. (Typescripts in Edward E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library). Hereafter cited as AGI PC.

⁴¹ Petition of Juan Mariano Picornell, New Orleans, February 12, 1814, encl. in Sedella to Apodaca, New Orleans, February 23, 1814, in AGI PC, legajo 1815.

⁴² Robinson to Col. John Smith, Republican Camp (in Texas), April 12, 1814, encl. in Toledo to Shaler, Headquarters West of the Sabine River, May 30, 1814, in Mexico, Filibustering.

⁴³ Toledo to Shaler, Headquarters West of the Sabine River, May 30, 1814, *ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Toledo to John Nancarrow, Camp Independence, May 5, 1814, and enclosures, *ibid.*

buster began to form in New Orleans among the many rebel sympathizers of the city. A rebel agent, Juan Pablo Anaya,⁴⁷ had come from Mexico with enough gold and silver to arouse the cupidity of such men as Abner L. Duncan and John K. West. Prominent Baratarian smugglers, especially Pierre Laffite and Dominique You (Frederic Yeux), were willing to join in a scheme to send a naval expedition against Tampico while Humbert or some other leader would attempt an invasion of Texas.⁴⁸ This project, a revival of Humbert's scheme of 1813, was impeded by a Claiborne-inspired raid against the Baratarians in September, 1814. Picornell devoted his talents to disrupting the project by arousing dissension among the leaders, a task made more difficult and interesting by Toledo's arrival in New Orleans in November.⁴⁹ In all of its ramifications the plan was worthy of the inflamed imaginations that conceived it; but then Andrew Jackson came to New Orleans and the attention of southern adventurers for the rest of the War of 1812 was drawn to defense of the Louisiana metropolis. After the war the plotting was resumed and three actual invasions of New Spain occurred between 1815 and 1821.

These frontier escapades were possible only because of the peculiar circumstances that prevailed. Taken all together they fully convinced the restored government of Ferdinand VII that Texas could not be defended by force if the United States decided to invade the territory. With the peace of 1815 Spain lost all hope of support from Great Britain in stemming the tide of American advance. Diplomacy was the only recourse and in the Transcontinental Treaty of 1819 the United States gave up its very shadowy claim to Texas. The filibustering movement continued until 1821, and then colonization by the empresarios accomplished what many of the filibusters had hoped to bring about.

⁴⁷ Letter from Ellis P. Bean, New Orleans, October 21, 1814, in Winchester, Ky., *Advertiser*, January 14, 1815.

⁴⁸ Morphy to Apodaca, New Orleans, November 3, 1814, in AGI PC, legajo 1836.

⁴⁹ Morphy to Apodaca, New Orleans, November 11, 1814, *ibid.*

THE FREE NEGRO IN ANTE-BELLUM LOUISIANA*

By ANNIE LEE WEST STAHL

INTRODUCTION

Louisiana has furnished many colorful terms, expressions, and localisms to the national vocabulary, and none more so perhaps than that of "colored people", a term which she uses to distinguish that race of descendants from African slaves.

During the ancient regime in Louisiana, the pure-blooded African was never called colored, but negro. The *gens de couleur* were a class apart, separated from and superior to the negroes. Caste seems to have existed from the first introduction of slaves.¹ Among themselves there were closely guarded distinctions, mulattoes, quadroons, octoroons, griffes—each term meaning one more generation's elevation toward perfection in white blood. The various grades of colored people are designated by the French as follows, according to the degree of negro blood predominating:

Sacatra.....	griffe and negress.
Griffe.....	negro and mulatto.
Marabon.....	mulatto and griffe.
Mulatto.....	white and negro.
Quarteron.....	white and mulatto.
Metif.....	white and quarteron.
Meamelouc.....	white and metif.
Quarteron.....	white and meamelouc.
Sang-mele.....	white and quarteron. ²

To the black the Christian God was a white; the devil black. The Virgin Mary, the Savior, the Saints, and angels all belonged to the white race. It is easy to understand the infinite hope and struggle of the *gens de couleur*.

The first appearance of these people in the colony dates the class *gens de couleur libres* (free people of color). The census of 1788 estimated their number at fifteen hundred.³ From the very

* Master's thesis in History, Louisiana State University, 1934.

¹ Grace King, *New Orleans, The Place and the People* (New York, 1907), 335.

² Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (New York, 1856), 583. "They say that the cross between the French and Spanish with the African produces a finer and healthier result than that of the more northern races. Certainly the French quadroons are very handsome and healthy in appearance; and I should not be surprised if . . . scientific observation should show them to be more vigorous than either of the parent races."

³ King, *op. cit.*, 336.

beginning of New Orleans there seemed to have been free people of color. In the early days of Louisiana, mulatto children were born of white fathers and slave mothers. Many of these fathers protected their offspring from becoming slaves by granting freedom to the mother as the status of the child depended upon the status of the mother. The *Code Noir*, instituted in 1724, gave the right to masters over twenty-five years of age to manumit slaves either by testamentary act or by disposition while alive.⁴

The Spanish governors of provinces were forbidden, by an express law of the Partidas to marry, and were authorized to have concubines. Such was the law of Louisiana under the dominion of Spain, and as there were in the colony but few women of the white race, and hardly any of equal condition with the officers of the government and of the troops, the inevitable consequence was connection with women of color. This custom, coming as it did from the ruling class, soon spread throughout the colony and continued to prevail long after there ceased to be any excuse for its existence.⁵

To the list of concubines and their descendants, free or freed, as they appear usually to have been, were added free blacks who came from the West Indies. During the year 1809 immigrants numbering eight thousand whites and blacks made their way to Louisiana. They were refugees from Santo Domingo, who fled when Christophe waged a war of extermination, not only against the white race but the mulattoes and griffes as well.⁶ They took refuge in Cuba and were establishing themselves there when Napoleon invaded Spain and war was declared. This forced these French subjects to leave the island.

It was natural that they should look to Louisiana as a place of safety. The population of New Orleans was principally of French origin and the hospitality of the Creoles was well known. These factors caused a large number of immigrants to reach the city between May 19 and July 18, 1809.⁷

⁴ Albert Phelps, *Louisiana. A Record of Expansion* (Boston, 1905), 75. This code, adopted by officials of Louisiana, was taken from the acts drawn up by the lawyers of Louis XIV for the governing of slaves in Santo Domingo. Its laws were more lenient, more considerate of the human rights of subjects and defenseless aliens than would have been the laws of Teutonic nations made under similar conditions.

⁵ H. T. Catterall, ed., *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro* (Washington, 1932), III, 392.

⁶ Henry C. Castellanos, *New Orleans As It Was* (New Orleans, 1895), 300-301.

⁷ Alcée Fortier, *A History of Louisiana* (New York, 1904), III, 61. "Of the individuals, 1,828 were whites, 1,978 were free blacks, and 1,991 were slaves."

Opposition to this influx came from a portion of the population—the native Americans. The governor felt embarrassed in applying the laws regarding the admittance of slaves and free colored persons.⁸ However, Governor Claiborne viewed the situation from the standpoint that these people had been imported under conditions of peculiar distress, so he allowed them to land. Owners of slaves put up a bond for their appearance while he referred the matter to the President. Considering the unfortunate circumstances of the refugees, they were permitted to reside in the Territory.⁹

A vital distinction was made in Louisiana between a negro and a person of color, the former being presumed to be a slave, the latter to be free. The court declared in 1810, in the case of *Adelle vs. Beauregard*:

Persons of color may be descended from Indians on both sides, from a white parent, or mulatto parents in possession of their freedom. Considering how much probability there is in favor of the liberty of these persons, they ought not to be deprived of it upon mere presumption.¹⁰

In the case of Sally Miller, decided in 1845, Judge Bullard declared:

The first inquiry . . . is, what is the color of the plaintiff? . . . Ever since the case of *Adelle vs. Beauregard*, . . . it has been the settled doctrine here, that persons of color are presumed to be free . . . except as to Africans in the slave-holding States, the presumption is in favor of freedom, and the burden of proof is on him who claims the colored person as a slave.¹¹

The first laws dealing with the status of Africans in Louisiana recognized the free negro as much as they did the slave. Provision was made that the status of offspring should follow the status of the mother. This act provided for the perpetuation of the free negro population in the stipulation which, as applied to this class of persons, guaranteed to free colored females the right to extend their free status to their children.

⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 49-51. During the meeting of the first legislature of the Territory of Orleans, January 25, 1806, a law was passed forbidding free people of color from Hispaniola to be brought into the territory. The Act further provided that every man, woman, and child from Hispaniola then living in the territory, pretending to be free, must prove the fact before the mayor of the city or a justice of the peace; otherwise the individual would be considered a fugitive slave, and in consequence, he or she would be employed at the public works.

⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 60-61; Edward Larocque Tinker, *Toucouitou* (New York, 1928), 255.

¹⁰ *Adelle vs. Beauregard*, 1 *Mart. La.*, 183 (1810).

¹¹ Catterall, *op. cit.*, III, 571.

Proof of the persistence of a free negro population, however, is not confined to inferences from statutes. The parish court and church records continue the records of the free negro when slavery was given legislative sanction. The United States census of 1860 estimates the number of free blacks in Louisiana at 18,647, and slaves at 331,726.¹²

Very early do we find these free mulattoes with a society of their own, a society neither white nor black but between the two. It is true that they possessed many of the civil and legal rights commonly enjoyed by the whites, but they were disqualified from political rights and social equality. However, in their contact with white people, they did not assume that creeping posture of debasement which has frequently characterized them in fiction. While the whites were superior to them, they in their turn were superior to the blacks and objected just as strenuously to associating with them as the whites objected to mingling with free negroes.¹³

Free colored persons of Louisiana formed a class of superior ability and education. Included in the parcel from Santo Domingo was a large number of colored freemen who later became useful citizens as testified by their valor at the Battle of New Orleans. They constituted, with the means which they had brought with them, in forwarding several movements, not the least of which was the erection of an elegant theatre on St. Philip street. The famous coffeehouse was called *Café des Refugies*.¹⁴

Eugene Macarty's concubine, who had lived with him from 1796 until his death in 1845, in a state which

was the nearest approach to marriage which the law recognized, (It received the consent of her family which was considered one of the most distinguished in Louisiana), amassed a fortune of more than \$155,000 from a dry goods business in New Orleans, with branches elsewhere.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the legislation and the jurisprudence of Louisiana upon the subject of free colored persons differed materially from those of the slave states generally and that her courts were in the habit of allowing them to testify in prosecutions where the defendants were white persons.¹⁵

¹² Appendix A, "Census Reports on Negro Population in Louisiana, 1810-1860."

¹³ King, *op. cit.*, 345.

¹⁴ Castellanos, *op. cit.*, 302. This café later became the headquarters of the *Colons de St. Domingue*. It was here that the famous liquor "le petit Gouave" was concocted.

¹⁵ Catterall, *op. cit.*, III, 392-393.

In a few southern cities as Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans, rigid laws governing the free negroes were not always enforced. Influential white persons, connected with this class of people by ties of blood, often intervened between them and the law and provided for their home life, private education, and religious instruction.¹⁰

The purpose of this survey is to present facts concerning the life of the free negro in ante-bellum Louisiana. The economic, moral, and social character of the race and its children has been carefully studied and, as far as possible, substantiated by court records, civil codes, and statutes. No comprehensive study of this problem has been made in Louisiana heretofore, and the author hopes that this meager survey will lead to an expansion of the research.

The plan has been to consider the negro in these phases:

1. The Quadroon
2. Legal Status of Free Negroes
3. Manumission of Slaves
4. Education and Religion of Free Negroes
5. Occupations and Wages of Free Negroes

A glossary has been added to the study so that the Creole words, used both about and by the negroes, may be more definitely understood.

CHAPTER I

THE QUADROON

The discussion of the free negro in Louisiana furnishes us no more serious social problem than that of the quadroons. These were daughters of white men by half-blooded mothers. Their position was indeed an anomalous one. Though often endowed with superior mental qualities and personal charms, they were forbidden by law to marry white men of any class. The same law gave them no protection against becoming victims of seduction and prostitution.

Besides the white and slave immigration from the West Indies, with resultant *gens de couleur*, there was a large influx of *gens de couleur libres* into New Orleans. Hostile legislation did not prevent this class from entering in large numbers. Like the

¹⁰ Carter G. Woodson, *Negro Makers of History* (Washington, 1928), 125.

white *émigrés*, they brought in the customs and manners of a softer climate, a more luxurious society, and a different civilization. In comparison with the free colored people of New Orleans, they represented a distinct caste, and they grew with such alarming rapidity that their number made for some time a decided influence on the home of their adoption.¹⁷

Two hundred years before these blacks were introduced in Louisiana, the planters of Santo Domingo had been choosing the handsomest from among their slaves as mistresses. After this long process of selective breeding, there was produced a type so unusually attractive that when, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the best Santo Domingan families had fled from the slave revolution to take refuge in New Orleans, accompanied by their sang melee mistresses, many of them had only one sixty-fourth part negro blood. These women were characterized as *Les Sirènes*.¹⁸ Practically all travellers, who left accounts of their experiences in Louisiana, used extravagant phrases in describing them.

Ingraham wrote, "I have heard it remarked that some of the finest looking women of New Orleans are quadroons. They have large fine eyes, good features, magnificent forms, and elegantly shaped feet." He spoke of them as walking the streets with the "airs of donnas."¹⁹

An English visitor exclaimed:

They furnish some of the most beautiful women that can be seen, resembling in many respects, the higher order of women among the Hindoos, with lovely countenances, full, dark, liquid eyes, lips of coral and teeth of pearl, long raven locks of soft and glossy hair, sylph-like figures, and such beautifully rounded limbs and exquisite gait and manner, that they might furnish models for a Venus or a Hebe to the chisel of a sculptor.²⁰

¹⁷ King, *op. cit.*, 332; Phelps, *op. cit.*, 298.

¹⁸ Tinker, *op. cit.*, 97.

¹⁹ Joseph Holt Ingraham, *The Southwest* (New York, 1835), I, 188-189.

²⁰ James Silk Buckingham, *The Slave States of America* (London and Paris, 1842), I, 35-38. A beautiful specimen of quadroon beauty was, at the time of the author's story in New Orleans, exhibited as a sign, in a full length picture in oils, over the door of a milliner's establishment at the corner of Rue de Toulouse and Rue Royale; the one view representing her in a "costume de promenade," the other in her "costume du bal;" and inscribed as similar signs in Paris, "A la belle Creole."

One of the few writers, who differed materially in his description of the quadroons, was Featherstonhaugh, an English traveller, who wrote:

I had occasion to see a good many of them during my stay, at a ball or two I had access to; and certainly it must be allowed that they . . . carry their persons very well; but in the lips and mouth, and in an unpleasing coarse texture of the skin, the negro blood shows itself very distinctly.

At the theatre he saw none remarkable for their beauty, which he explained as having been so elegantly described to him as females, beautiful beyond all comparison with others and very noted for "une belle taille, et un gorge magnifique."²¹

So great became the beauty and luxury of these quadroons, that in 1788 Governor Miro passed an ordinance which is one of the most extraordinary legal acts recorded in Louisiana. The directory of that year listed 1,500 unmarried free women of color, living in little houses near the ramparts. The governor's ruling caused it to become an act of misconduct "if one of these women walks abroad in silks, jewels, or plumes, and by so doing the woman is liable for punishment." The only head covering which she was permitted to use was the *tignon*.²² Many of these women were well educated and accomplished to a marked degree. They possessed superior mental qualities and ambitions, which distinguished them from the pure negro. It was not unusual for quadroon children to be educated abroad. Many wealthy fathers, because of existing prejudices, sent their daughters to France for cultural advantages. Great pains were lavished upon the quadroon girl's training to develop her natural charm to lend attraction to the role which she was destined to play. Many of these, with good education and property, made their homes in France, where they found no difficulty in forming legal establishments.²³

James Stuart comments on the fact that the quadroons were frequently as well educated, as interesting, and as cultivated in manners as those who considered it almost a sacrilege to notice them in any way. He compliments them in saying that they conducted themselves ordinarily with more propriety and decorum than the white women.²⁴

²¹ George William Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion Through the Slave States* (London, 1844), II, 265-266.

²² Lyle Saxon, *Fabulous New Orleans* (New York, 1928), 180.

²³ Featherstonhaugh, *op. cit.*, II, 267-269; Bernard of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach, *Travels Through North America During the Years 1825 and 1826* (Philadelphia, 1828), II, 58.

²⁴ James Stuart, *Three Years in North America* (New York, 1833), II, 31.

A gentleman of New England education, in relating reminiscences of his experiences in the society of quadroons, was impressed with the culture and refinement which characterized three accomplished young women whom he knew. They were well informed, interested in current literature, and their musical taste was especially developed.²⁵

Harriet Martineau says, "The Quadroon girls of New Orleans are brought up by their mothers to be what they have been; the mistresses of white gentlemen. The boys are some of them sent to France; some are placed on land in the back of the State; and some are sold in the slave-market. They marry women of a somewhat darker color than their own; the women of their own color objecting to them 'ils sont si dégoûtants!'"²⁶ They despised the negro as an inferior, and ambitious ones regarded alliances with men even of their own class as limiting.

The quadroon balls, that divided the nights of the week with balls given to the white ladies, were attended only by white men. Visiting gentlemen were always introduced to these entertainments as they were considered the amusement *par excellence* in New Orleans.²⁷ To these balls the young creatures were taken as soon as they reached womanhood. Here they displayed their accomplishments in dancing and conversing with white men in attendance. Reared in chastity, the mothers watched them carefully and accompanied their daughters to the balls until they found a suitable protector.

Saxon says, "Officially they [the quadroon balls] did not exist. Little was printed about them, except those references which found their way into the diaries of travellers. . . . They were the principal diversion for white gentlemen."²⁸ Only colored ladies were admitted. The men of that caste, it is understood, were shut out by the white gentlemen. "To take away all semblance of vulgarity, the price of admission is fixed at two dollars, so that only persons of the better class can appear there."²⁹

The Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach, in relating interesting episodes which occurred during his stay in New Orleans, describes his experiences at two balls which he attended one evening. First

²⁵ Olmsted, *op. cit.*, 597-598.

²⁶ Harriet Martineau, *Society in America* (Paris, 1837), II, 116-117.

²⁷ King, *op. cit.*, 302.

²⁸ Saxon, *op. cit.*, 185.

²⁹ Saxe-Weimar Eisenach, *op. cit.*, II, 62.

was the subscription ball given at the French Theatre, where only whites representing good society were admitted. He related that most of the gentlemen remained only a short while before hastening away to the quadroom dance, where they amused themselves to a greater extent and were much more at ease. The Duke found the quadroom ball much more decent than the masquerade ball, which he attended at the French Theatre, where only whites were present. The colored ladies were well chaperoned by their mothers, they were tastefully dressed, and did the honors of their entertainments with great propriety and grace. Of a quadroom masquerade at the Théâtre St. Philippe, that he left a white soiree to visit, the Duke says: "Several of them [the quadroom ladies] addressed me and coquetted with me in the most subtle and amusing manner." This royal visitor confessed himself not indifferent to the tempting contrast offered by the two balls only a few blocks apart. He wrote that the women who attended these entertainments were almost white, and that from their skins, it was impossible to detect their origin. He took great care not to disclose to the whites where he had been when he returned to their ball. "I could not, however, refrain from making comparison, which in no wise redounded to the advantage of the white assembly."³⁰

It is related that various families of daughters by the same father often appeared at these quadroom balls on the same evening when their legitimate brother was present.³¹

One of the outstanding limitations placed upon this class of people was that of marriage. This form of union between a white man and a descendant of a negro, in however remote a degree, was not legal in the slave states. According to Article 95 of the *Civil Code of Louisiana*, the following restriction was placed upon such marriages:

Free persons and slaves are incapable of contracting marriage together; the celebration of such marriage is forbidden, and the marriage is void; there is the same incapacity and the same nullity with respects to marriages contracted by free white persons with free people of color.

Before a marriage could be legally solemnized between a white person and a colored, the former was required to make oath that he had negro blood in his veins. The difficulty to a white man taking oath, lay not only in the falsehood, but in the realiza-

³⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 58-70.

³¹ Featherstonhaugh, *op. cit.*, II, 267-269.

tion that by acknowledging the existence of such a stain, he voluntarily shut himself out of the society of his people forever.³²

The step was once taken by a young American who resided in New Orleans. A rich merchant and sugar planter, possibly of Jewish extraction, had an only daughter, a quadroon, who was very talented and beautiful. She was heiress to her father's great wealth, but he refused to bestow his property on his daughter or anyone but a white man who would be willing to wed her lawfully. This involved taking the oath that negro blood ran in his veins. With a view of satisfying his conscience, the suitor, prior to appearing before the authorities, pricked the finger of his fiancée and inserted some of the blood which trickled from the wound into a gash which he had made in his own hand. After this he took the oath which made them legally man and wife. He did not delay in carrying his bride to Europe.³³

Possibly no city in the United States so abounds in stories pathetic and tragic as does New Orleans. The basis of these were the mingling of races, the conflicts of French and Spanish, and especially the relations between the whites and the fair women of color. Many, no doubt, have never been published. The quadroon and the octoroon are the subjects of hundreds of exciting and interesting tales. Duels were common incidents of the Creole dancing assemblies, and the Cordon bleu balls—the deities of which were the quadroon women. The affairs of honor were settled by a midnight thrust in a vacant square behind the Cathedral or in a daylight encounter at "The Oaks" or "Les Trois Capalins."³⁴

The great ambition of the unmarried quadroon mothers was to have their children pass as whites and thereby have access to the privileged class. This desire to rise from a lower level to social equality with a superior race was implanted in the heart of the quadroon. Hence, an aversion on their part to marrying men of their own color, and their almost complete denial of one code of morality accepted by white women, and their consequent adoption of a separate standard of morals.

When the quadroon's admirer became desirous of forming a liaison with her, she usually referred the applicant to her

³² Matilda Charlotte Houstoun, *Hesperos: or Travels in the West* (London, 1850), II, 74-76.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Charles Dudley Warner, *Studies in the South and West* (New York, 1889), 49-51.

mother. The parent inquired into the circumstances of the suit before regulating the terms of the bargain. In many cases she received fifty dollars a month, during which time the lover had exclusive right to the house, or if he so desired, he might live there with utmost safety and tranquility.³⁵ Quite frequently he provided housekeeping quarters in a tenement in a certain part of the city. Sometimes the suitor agreed to pay a stated amount, perhaps two thousand dollars, or a sum in proportion to the girl's merits. The wealth thus secured varied with her attractiveness and the number and value of other lovers she might expect. Occasionally the contract included an additional payment of a specified amount for each child which the quadroon might bear him. Upon this fund she could retire when the liaison terminated or use it as a protection in the event of her suitor's death.³⁶

After the bargain was made, the mistress was called *une placée*. Her friends entertained her as a prospective bride would be fêted, after which she probably moved to her newly furnished establishment.³⁷ "The attachment of the quadroon is so constant and her conduct so free from stain that the connection is considered in the light of a left-handed marriage."³⁸ According to custom, they were esteemed as honorable and virtuous while they were faithful to one man. If, in their amours, they became indiscriminate, they lost the advantage of this rank and became classed as prostitutes or slaves. The instances of their infidelity were rare. Though unfaithfulness was punished among them they no sooner disengaged from one attachment than they were free to form another.³⁹

The connection sometimes lasted for life; usually for several years. During this time a man sustained this relation, he commonly moved also in reputable society on the other side of town. Perhaps he married and had a family establishment elsewhere. Before doing this, he might have separated from his *placée*. If so, he paid her according to the agreement, sometimes more in proportion to his affection for her or his sense of cruelty of the proceedings. Some men continued to maintain both homes, particularly if the legal marriage was one *de convenance*. Occasionally the attachment to the quadroon was so strong that the relation

³⁵ Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America* (London, 1809), 315.

³⁶ Olmsted, *op. cit.*, 594-595; Martineau, *op. cit.*, III, 81.

³⁷ Featherstonhaugh, *op. cit.*, II, 267-269.

³⁸ Stuart, *op. cit.*, II, 131.

³⁹ Ashe, *op. cit.*, 314-315.

was never discontinued. These men left property, at their death, to children from such unions.⁴⁰

When the time came for the man to take a white wife, the news probably reached his quadroon mistress either by letter telling her that she might claim the house and furniture, or by a newspaper which announced the marriage.⁴¹

Lyle Saxon thinks the quadroon woman, according to her own standard, lost nothing by having served as mistress of a white man as the connection did not prevent her from matrimony with a free man of color.⁴²

In such liaisons, the children were illegitimate, and as such men did not contract marriages with them. The Catholic Church recognized unions of this kind and bound the husband to support and provide for his offspring, but this did not prevent him from entering upon marital relations. Among the French and Spanish settlers an entirely different feeling existed toward their children of a mixed race from that which the emigrants from states usually manifested. A man of the former class never appeared to regard such children as attaching any disgrace to his character.⁴³

We are to remember, in connection with the conditions in Louisiana, that a general trait of French and Spanish colonists in all countries has been that they have commonly recognized and provided for the wives taken from among native women, negro, Indian, or any other nationality, and that they have acknowledged and provided for their children; while the Anglo-Saxon, as a rule, leaves these women and children to shift for themselves.⁴⁴

CHAPTER II

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE FREE NEGRO

The legal status of the free negro was unique. Was he a man of liberty or less than that? The former he was by legal intent; yet he was undoubtedly denied many rights which characterized the estate of a free man. The legal status of free individuals is involved in their twofold relation to the state as receivers of protection and as active participants in the affairs of government. Considering the position of the free negro in this double relation,

⁴⁰ Olmsted, *op. cit.*, 595-597.

⁴¹ Martineau, *op. cit.*, II, 81.

⁴² Saxon, *op. cit.*, 179-186.

⁴³ Nathan Willey, "Education of the Colored Population of Louisiana", in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXXIII (1866), 246.

⁴⁴ Calvin Dill Wilson, "Black Masters: A Side Light on Slavery", in *North American Review*, CLXXXI (1905), 692.

the question which first demands an answer is, what protection was afforded him in rights of property and in the enjoyment of life and liberty?

In Louisiana law there was, with the exception of political rights and certain social privileges, and the obligations of jury and militia service, all the difference between a free man of color and a slave that there was between a white man and a slave.⁴⁵

The condition of a slave was merely a passive one. According to law his subordination to his master and to all who represented him was not ordinarily susceptible to any modification or restriction. This was excepted in circumstances that might incite the slave to the commission of crimes in such manner that he owed his master and all his family utmost respect and absolute obedience. Further, as the person of a slave belonged to his master, he could not possess anything in his own right or dispose of the produce of his industry without the consent of his owner.⁴⁶

Provision was made that no slave should be party to a suit in civil matters, either as a plaintiff or defendant, nor could he be a witness in any civil or criminal matter against a white person.

In the case of *Dorothee vs. Conquillon et al.*, 1829, the plaintiff, a free woman of color, brought suit before the parish court of the parish and city of New Orleans. She complained that her child was to be manumitted at the age of twenty-one according to the will of her mistress who had bequeathed her services to the defendant's daughter. The will further provided for the education of the slave girl to enable her to earn a livelihood when she reached the age of freedom. The plaintiff declared that this clause was not observed and that her daughter was treated cruelly. She, therefore, plead that the girl be hired out by the sheriff. The court denied the plaintiff's right to sue; that she had a cause of action. The case was dismissed and the plaintiff appealed to the state supreme court. That tribunal rendered the decision that the plaintiff could not sue for her minor daughter, in a case where the latter could not sue were she of age. The condition of the minor was designated as that of *statu liberi*, and as such, a slave until she reached the age of twenty-one.⁴⁷ As a slave, she was entitled to no action except to claim or prove her

⁴⁵ Catterall, *op. cit.*, III, 393.

⁴⁶ Louisiana Civil Code, Article 35.

⁴⁷ William Goodell, *The American Slave Code in Theory and Practice* (New York, 1853), 242-243.

liberty.⁴⁸ If, before the slave reached the age of twenty-one, the legatee failed to comply with the conditions of the bequest, and the heirs of the testatrix had the legacy annulled in consequence, the *statu liberi* would continue a slave in the meanwhile. "The object of the suit, so far as concerns her, is relief from ill treatment which a slave cannot sue for. The plaintiff is without any right of action."⁴⁹

So the poor mother lost the case in behalf of her slave daughter and had to bear the cost of two courts because of her ignorance in supposing that a slave might sustain any action against her master for cruel treatment and that the provisions of the will might be enforced by legal action.

In the case of Berard *vs.* Berard et al., Judge Francois Xavier Martin handed down the decision:

The plaintiff is a person, and sues her aunt, Marie Louise Berard, for the purpose of establishing her and her children's claim to their freedom. The defendant disavowed any title to the plaintiff, but averred that she belonged to her late sister, Marie Jeane Berard, and that she descended to her sister's *natural children and legal heirs*, Celina and Antoine Garidel. These heirs intervened, and claimed the plaintiff and her children as their property. . . . The case was tried by a jury, who found a judgment for the intervening party, and the plaintiff appealed.

The court instructed the jury that the heirs were not bound to show their title. "On a full consideration of the case, this Court is of opinion that the instruction given to the jury by the District Judge was correct. A slave cannot stand in judgment for any other purpose than to *assert his freedom*. He is not even allowed to contest the *title of the person* holding him as a slave."⁵⁰

A slave could not serve as a witness against a free person of color unless the latter was charged with raising or attempting to raise a slave insurrection or with assisting or comforting them in any manner.⁵¹

Slaves were reputed and considered real estate, and as such they were subject to be mortgaged, according to the rules prescribed by law. Therefore, they could be seized and sold as real

⁴⁸ Louisiana Civil Code, Article 177.

⁴⁹ Goodell, *op. cit.*, 242-243.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 241.

⁵¹ L. Peirce, M. Taylor, and W. W. King, eds., *The Consolidation and Revision of the Statutes of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1852), 556-557.

estate.⁵² "A slave is . . . in the power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry and his labor."⁵³

On the whole, there was a marked difference in the status of a free negro and a slave. The former gradually lost ground during the reactionary period of the 1820's and 1830's. He did not become as helpless as a slave, however.⁵⁴ "The free man of color was capable of contracting. He could acquire by inheritance and transmit property by will. He was a competent witness in all civil suits. If he committed an offense against law, he was to be tried with the same formalities and by the same tribunal as the white man."⁵⁵

The fifty-seventh article of the *Code Noir* of Louisiana, promulgated in 1724, declared: "les esclaves affranchis n'avoient besoin de nos lettres de naturalité, pour jouir des avantages de nos subjects naturels . . . encore qu'ils soient nés dans les pays étrangers." This liberal provision may account for the unusual lack of discrimination against them, both as witnesses and as parties to suits which involved the rights of white persons.⁵⁶ In no other state was the free man of color permitted to give testimony against a white man. The following case illustrates the right of a free woman of color to serve as a witness where a white man was involved. After the death of Mrs. Elizabeth Ford of New Orleans, a free negro woman made affidavit that a certain John Hawks, who had been imprisoned on suspicion of having caused her death, assaulted and beat the victim about three o'clock on the afternoon of the day on which she died.⁵⁷

The Supreme Court of Louisiana held in 1850 that:

The judge [of the lower court] did not err [in permitting a free person of color to testify against white persons] At the date of our earliest legislation, as well as at the present day, free persons of color constituted a numerous class. In some districts they are respectable from their intelligence, industry and habits of good order. Many . . . are enlightened by education, and the instances are by no means rare in which they are large property holders, . . . such persons as courts and juries would not hesitate to believe under

⁵² Statute of June 7, 1806, 1 *Martin's Digest*, 612.

⁵³ *Louisiana Civil Code*, Article 35.

⁵⁴ Carter G. Woodson, *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830* (Washington, 1925), xxxi.

⁵⁵ *State vs. Harrison (A Slave)*, 11 *La. An.*, 722 (Dec., 1856).

⁵⁶ *Louisiana Civil Code* (1825).

⁵⁷ *Daily Crescent* (New Orleans), October 9, 1848.

oath. Moreover, . . . entitled to the protection of our laws; . . . the gravest offenses against their persons and property might be committed with impunity, by white persons, if the rule for exclusion contended for were recognized. . . . No incompetency has been declared by our laws with reference to free persons of color The provision of our Code [Article 2260], which makes [them] . . . competent witnesses in civil matters . . . is a recognition that they are *prima facie* worthy of credit No reason has been suggested why a distinction should exist in respect to their competency in civil and criminal cases to which white persons are parties The testimony of manumitted slaves was legal advice under the Spanish and Roman laws . . . the opinion which we express in relation to the competency of this class . . . is in accordance . . . with the uniform practice of our courts, which are in the daily habit of permitting them to testify in prosecutions where the defendants are white persons It is further objected, that parol testimony was improperly received to establish the freedom of the witness. The testimony was, that the witness was born free, and had always been considered free. No higher evidence, therefore, than parol could have been adduced.⁵⁸

The Territorial Legislature of 1808 provided that all notaries or other public officials should insert in their acts after the name and surname of free negroes the words "free man of color" or "free woman of color." Printers and auctioneers should comply with the same formality in all notices regarding the sale of property owned by a free negro under penalty of one hundred dollar fine, payable one-half to the informer and the other half to the state.⁵⁹ There have been numerous cases in which the plaintiff or the defendant was a free person of color, and that status is indicated indiscriminately by the initials—f. m. c., f. w. c., f. p. c., as a sort of courtesy title even to petitioners in suits for freedom which resulted in a judgment that the petitioners were slaves. The letters C.P., were used where freedom was postponed.⁶⁰

There were numerous cases where negroes sued for freedom after having been once emancipated but afterwards sold. Carter G. Woodson states that the rights of colored people to freedom under the laws were generally maintained with great energy in Louisiana. He claims that suits to recover freedom were nowhere else so common and nowhere else so successful.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Catterall, *op. cit.*, III, 601.

⁵⁹ Peirce, Taylor, and King, *op. cit.*, 284.

⁶⁰ See Louisiana court records for examples.

⁶¹ Carter G. Woodson, *The Negro in Our History* (Washington, 1928), 245-246.

A negress, Josephine, who had been taken to France by her owners and placed under the training of a hairdresser to learn the art and who was imprisoned by her former owners on her return to America, was held by the Supreme Court of Louisiana in 1835 to be entitled to her liberty. The old maxim, "once free for an hour, free forever," received full support in Louisiana up to 1846. In that year a law was enacted stipulating that a slave should not be entitled to freedom under the pretence of having been in a country where slavery was forbidden.⁶²

The Louisiana State Legislature of 1819 provided:

If any person or persons shall, without due process of law, seize and forcibly confine, or inveigle or kidnap any negro, mulatto, or other person of color, not being a slave, with intent to send him within or out of this State against his will, or shall conspire, . . . or aid, abet, assist, command or procure any other person to commit the said offense, such person or persons shall, on conviction . . . , be fined or imprisoned, or both, . . . such fine not to exceed one thousand dollars, and such imprisonment not to exceed fourteen years. . . .⁶³

Any free person who brought or caused to be brought into Louisiana a free negro, mulatto, or person of color, whom he held as a slave or offered for sale as a slave, was forced to pay, for every such offense one thousand dollars to any person who would sue for and recover. In addition, he would be held liable for damages which the person treated as a slave might recover.⁶⁴

An instance of kidnaping, which aroused a great deal of interest, particularly in New Orleans, was the case of William Houston, a British subject, who came from Liverpool as a steward in 1840. At New Orleans his return passage was offered by a certain Espagne de Blanc. Upon reaching Martinsville, de Blanc ordered him off the boat, took his emancipation papers from him and treated him as a slave. Five years later, Houston was sold to a barkeeper, who shortly sold him to George Lynch, who hired him out. In the Mexican War he accompanied the American Army, and upon returning to New Orleans, was sold to a certain Richardson. The latter, suspecting a faulty title, refused payment; thereupon, in 1850, he sold Houston at auction to L. F. Lapice, against whom the negro brought suit under the aegis of

⁶² Catterall, *op. cit.*, III, 389.

⁶³ Peirce, Taylor, and King, *op. cit.*, 207.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 286.

the British Consul. While the trial was pending, a local newspaper printed the exciting narrative that it might "assist the plaintiff to prove his freedom or the defendant to prove he is a slave."⁶⁵

In the case of McPherson (f.m.c.) *vs.* Robinson et al., the plaintiff sued for freedom, claiming that he was born in Santo Domingo. From there he moved to the United States and made his home in Alexandria, D. C. There he was captured, taken to New Orleans, and sold as a slave to one Robinson. At the time he brought suit, the negro was claimed by M. and T. J. Wells. The plaintiff was given his freedom and two hundred dollars for his services.⁶⁶

The protection which the courts of Louisiana extended to free people of color may be illustrated by the following interesting example:

The counsel of the prisoner requested the court to charge . . . "that the use of grossly . . . indecent language by a free man of color to a white man, naturally must excite the passions of a white man, and if immediately succeeded by a mortal stab, it may well be imputed to the weakness . . . of human nature, and a jury may render a verdict of manslaughter" The court declined . . . and we think properly. It is one of the first . . . principles in trials for homicide "that no affront by words or gestures only is a sufficient provocation" The law has made no distinction whether the affront proceeds from a white, or a free man of color. Indeed, as was well observed by the attorney general, since the law makes a distinction . . . and punishes free persons of color, who, even by words, insult white persons, their situation imposes upon us, perhaps, a higher obligation to suppress our passions, and resort to the laws to punish their insolence, than in the case of white persons, against whose . . . verbal outrage there is no redress by prosecution. It is truly a painful duty to perform when the life of a fellow-creature is involved, but we are obliged to affirm the judgment.⁶⁷

The common law right to own and transfer property was recognized as belonging to free negroes, and it suffered fewer limitations in their possession than any other rights generally regarded as fundamental to a free status. The exception lay in the inability to own firearms. Not only could they own property,

⁶⁵ *Daily Delta* (New Orleans), June 1, 1850.

⁶⁶ Catterall, *op. cit.*, III, 497.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 605.

but they possessed the right to sue for injuries done to wealth which they owned. Free blacks might acquire land and buy slaves or transmit or sell them by deed or will. In so doing, they could employ any of the common methods of effecting transfers employed by the white persons. Courts of record and probate were open to them for recording legal evidences of sales or transfer of property. The agency of the courts, either by common law or equity was resorted to, with little difficulty, by free negroes in the enforcement of bequests of property to them. The wealth, which these people acquired, necessitated legal transactions which protected them in the same way that they protected the white man.

Both successions and wills record interesting facts concerning the free man of color. Not only do these facts and figures illustrate the wealth of the propertied man, but they give us a keener insight into their living conditions, and occasionally they tell stories which portray the interest and kindly feeling which some of them had for their slaves.

The family of Jean Baptiste Augustin Metoyer, a prominent free negro of Natchitoches Parish, inherited an estate appraised at eighty-four thousand five hundred dollars. This property included thirty-seven slaves, valued at twenty-nine thousand seven hundred dollars.⁶⁸ Included in the succession was a list of household goods with their evaluation. Martin Donato, a free negro of St. Landry Parish who died in 1848, bequeathed liberty to his slave wife and her seven children and left them eighty-nine slaves and four thousand five hundred arpents of land, as well as notes and mortgages valued at forty-six thousand dollars.⁶⁹ In New Orleans lived Thomy Lafon, a merchant and moneylender, whose possessions, when he died at the age of eighty-four, were appraised at approximately a half million dollars.⁷⁰ The well-to-do negroes were not merely persons with sufficient holdings to form an attachment to the community but many of them owned slaves who cultivated their large estates. There were in 1836 in New Orleans six hundred and forty slaves owned by free negroes. The average number of slaves owned per free negro in Maryland was three. Using this average as holding in New Orleans in proportion to this number of slaves, the number of colored slave-owners would be two hundred and thirteen. "We may safely

⁶⁸ Appendix B, "Succession of Jean Baptiste Metoyer", Succession Record 24, No. 896.

⁶⁹ U. B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (New York and London, 1918), 431-435.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

assume that there were as many more in the whole state of Louisiana, or four hundred and twenty-six in all, at that date." According to the 1830 census, there were in Louisiana sixteen thousand seven hundred. The ratio of the four hundred and twenty-six colored slaveowners to the number of free negroes would be one in thirty-nine.⁷¹ Most of these owners were quadroons, but some of them were mulattoes and full-blooded negroes, who, as a rule, inherited property and afterward added to it, probably by purchase.⁷²

Colored planters on a considerable scale became numerous. They owned some of the best sugar and cotton plantations in Louisiana. Cyprian Ricard (spelled Ricaud in some records), a wealthy planter of Natchitoches Parish, bought at a sheriff's sale in 1851 an estate in Iberville Parish, along with ninety-one slaves, for nearly one quarter million dollars.⁷³

The late Phanor Breazeale of Natchitoches, Louisiana, stated in a letter to Calvin Dill Wilson:

I have in mind a law suit I brought a few years ago for the ownership of a piece of land in this Parish; and in the course of litigation, I traced back the title about eighty years, and found that . . . the inventory in this succession was appraised at some one hundred and three thousand dollars, including land and slaves.

The owner left a will giving the property, one-half to the mother of his children (he had reared a family of negroes, living in concubinage with a free colored woman) and the remainder in equal portions to his children. The will was contested by a brother who lived in France, and resulted in a compromise, whereby the children were given a large plantation with ten slaves, the mother getting the usufruct of this property.⁷⁴ In this same parish, Charles Roques, a free colored planter, died in 1854, leaving forty-seven slaves and one thousand acres of land.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Calvin Dill Wilson, "Negroes Who Owned Slaves", in *Popular Science Monthly*, LXXXI (1912), 493.

⁷² Letter from B. F. Jones, quoted in Wilson, "Black Masters: A Side Light on Slavery", *loc. cit.*, CLXXXI, 689.

⁷³ *New Orleans Picayune*, December 23, 1893.

⁷⁴ Letter from Phanor Breazeale, quoted in Wilson, "Black Masters: A Side Light on Slavery", *loc. cit.*, CLXXXI, 689.

⁷⁵ Phillips, *op. cit.*, 434.

The will of Jacob Manumishon (f.m.c.) had the following provision:

I give . . . to Aimée, my faithful and beloved friend, whom I emancipated twenty years ago, the premises on which I now reside in . . . New Orleans, for life . . . Then I give . . . to Maria, her daughter, wife of Francis Lockwood, . . . the . . . premises . . . in fee simple . . . All my other effects, real and personal, moneys, bonds, notes and obligations . . . to Maria . . . and to Lockwood, in equal proportions . . . after the decease of Aimée.⁷⁶

Two rather unusual records dealing with successions were those which involved Etienne Boilleau (f.m.c.), of East Baton Rouge Parish. In the one he sold to Raphael Legendre his right, title, claim, and interest in and to the succession of his deceased brother, Francois Boilleau, former resident of St. Landry Parish, for the sum of two thousand dollars;⁷⁷ in the other, he sold to the same Legendre his title to the succession of his father, Francois Boilleau, and his mother, Marion Lacour, both deceased, of the Parish of Opelousas; to the succession of Valeri Boilleau, his brother, and Merant Boilleau, his sister deceased, both of the above parish, and also to the succession of his aunt Geneviève Lacour, wife of Antoine Lacour ("known by the name of Registe"), of the Parish of Iberville. The selling price was five thousand dollars.⁷⁸

As a rule free negro families took the name of their former masters. A large percentage of these in Natchitoches Parish were named Metoyer, one of the old wealthy white Metoyers having freed some of his slaves. The same is true of the Dupré and Rachal families.⁷⁹ Jean Baptiste Dominique Metoyer (f.m.c.), who died intestate, left property valued, after all debts were paid, at approximately eleven thousand dollars, according to an inventory made in 1853.⁸⁰ The estate left by Pierre Metoyer (f.m.c.) was appraised at \$5,411.61. His slaves constituted his greatest wealth. They were valued at \$3,800.00.⁸¹

Numerous bills of sale show that the right of the free negro to buy and sell property of this type was common. It is interest-

⁷⁶ Catterall, *op. cit.*, III, 558.

⁷⁷ Notarial Acts, B, Parish of East Baton Rouge, No. 32, pp. 63-64.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 33, pp. 64-65.

⁷⁹ Wilson, "Black Masters: A Side Light on Slavery", *loc. cit.*, CLXXXI, 691-692.

⁸⁰ Succession of Jean Baptiste Dominique Metoyer, Succession Record No. 898, Parish of Natchitoches.

⁸¹ Succession of Pierre Metoyer, Succession Record No. 902, Parish of Natchitoches.

ing to note the frequency with which these purchases were paid in cash by men who usually could not sign their names to contracts. Occasionally in a transaction between a free man of color and a white man we find the signature of the negro who was a party to the contract and the mark of the white man. A few illustrations will suffice to show the amount paid, the age of the slave, and the year in which the transaction took place. The evaluation of the slave was determined by the general financial situation of the country and the physical condition, age, training and purpose for which the slave was to be used. "James Young, of East Baton Rouge Parish, sold to Phoebe Galis (f.w.c.), . . . a negro boy William, aged between two and three years, (whose mother died about January 1 of 1847) for \$190." The sale was recorded August 10, 1847.⁸² Marie Marthe, f.w.c., sold to Louis Marin, f.m.c., both of Natchitoches Parish, a slave named Rosa, aged about thirty-four years, for \$1,000, which was paid in cash, May 3, 1836.⁸³ Marianite Badin, f.w.c., sold to Noël Mézierè, f.m.c., a negro woman, named Ann, aged about twenty years, for \$1,155, April 13, 1837.⁸⁴ An interesting sale, from the standpoint of money involved, was that made by Joseph Ganin to Grace Ronguier, f.w.c., both of Natchitoches Parish. A negro woman, aged twenty years, and a negro man, aged twenty-three years, were sold for \$4,025, with a mortgage, February 28, 1837.⁸⁵ Others involving large amounts included the purchase, in 1837, of a negro woman, aged twenty-six years, by a free man of color, for \$1,940;⁸⁶ and the sale made in 1836 of a negro man, aged about twenty-eight years, to Valsin Dupré, f.m.c., for the consideration of \$1,686.⁸⁷

In many instances, the purchaser of a slave man was protected by clauses in the contract to the effect that the slave in question was "guaranteed against all troubles, mortgage claims, and other incumbrances" and "warranted free from the vices, maladies, and defects declared redhibitory in law."⁸⁸

A contract of 1837 concerns the sale of a negro man, David, aged about fifty years, with the unique provision, "sold without

⁸² Conveyances, Book A-1, Parish of East Baton Rouge, No. 188, pp. 195-196.

⁸³ Conveyances, Book 21, Parish of Natchitoches, No. 1219, p. 382.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Book 22, No. 876, p. 386.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Book 22, No. 822, pp. 345-346.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Book 22, No. 866, p. 379.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Book 22, No. 592, p. 162.

⁸⁸ For a typical deed of sale, see Appendix B.

warranty as to rheumatic pains and sore eyes, to which he is subject." Despite the handicap of fifty years and such trying physical maladies, David's master obtained \$704 by this transaction. The purchaser was Zénon Mézierès, f.m.c., of Natchitoches Parish.⁸⁹

A large number of colored proprietors owned slaves purely as a productive investment. It was probably a group of these who sent a joint committee to a New Orleans newspaper, when secession and war were impending, to express their attitude towards the slave question:

The free colored population of Louisiana . . . own slaves, and they are ready to shed their blood for her defense. They have no sympathy for abolitionism; no love for the North, but they have plenty for Louisiana . . . they will fight for her in 1861 as they fought in 1814-'15. All they ask is a chance and they will be worthy sons of Louisiana.⁹⁰

It has been suggested that some of the well-to-do colored freemen tended to prize their distinctive position to such an extent that they abhorred any prospect of general emancipation for fear that it would submerge them in the great black mass.⁹¹

In some cases, as in that of Marie Louise Bitaud, a free woman of color of New Orleans (1832), slaves were purchased for personal reasons or benevolent purposes with the idea of making their lot easier. Sympathetic white persons sometimes sold slaves to negroes for a small sum on condition that they would be well cared for.⁹²

In addition to the many records verifying the right of the free negro to own or transfer slaves, there are numerous evidences of the ownership and conveyance of other classes of property, such as town lots, houses, and land. Their right of contracting may be further illustrated by legal instruments, including mortgages, specifications for building, and marriage contracts.

Noël Mézierès and Marie Odise Trichel, free people of color of Natchitoches Parish, "who having solemnly declared their intention of uniting themselves in marriage, have made the following stipulation to wit:"

Art. 1st. The said Noël Mézierès brings into the said community of marriage, one quarter section of land, situated on Petit Prairie.

⁸⁹ Conveyances, Book 22, Parish of Natchitoches, No. 781, p. 317.

⁹⁰ *New Orleans Daily Delta*, December 28, 1860.

⁹¹ Phillips, *op. cit.*, 435-436.

⁹² Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 246.

Art. 2d. One negro woman, named Harriet, aged about twenty-two years.

Art. 3d. The sum of \$800 in cash. This being the whole that the aforesaid Mézierè brings into the future community of the said marriage; and which is estimated by him at \$2,000—and the said Mip. Marie Odise Trichel on her part brings into the said future community by marriage the foll. to wit:

Art. 1st. Eight cows and calves, four horses, and one saddle and bridle.

Art. 2d. Sundry household furniture, the whole together estimated by said Noël Mézierè, and Marie Joseph Grappé, mother of the aforesaid Marie Odise Trichel, at \$500 and which the said Noël Mézierè by these presents acknowledges to have received and there shall exist between the parties as long as they live a community of all property owned by them.⁹³

One Marie Louise of Avoyelles Parish possessed considerable property as indicated by various records showing business transactions. One such account specifies the sale of six hundred and forty acres of land.⁹⁴ Charles Lange, a free man of East Baton Rouge Parish, paid one thousand dollars in cash to Felicite Foulon, a free woman of color of the same parish, for a lot in Baton Rouge.⁹⁵

The sale of two town lots in Natchitoches on the south side of Bayou de la Digue, valued at twelve hundred and ninety-five dollars, was made by Augustin Lauve, a free negro woman.⁹⁶ On the same bayou was sold a piece of land (83 feet, 4 inches front with a depth of 120 feet) for nine hundred dollars, which was paid for in cash at the date of sale by a free woman of color, Nathalie Mézierè.⁹⁷

Two transactions involving free negroes in Alexandria included one in which Gustain Baillio, a free man of color, paid three hundred dollars in cash for four lots⁹⁸ (the sizes of lots were not given in the record), and a second involving the purchase of a parcel of ground for one hundred dollars by Francis Gardner, a free negro woman, who paid cash for the property.⁹⁹

⁹³ Conveyances, Book 22, Parish of Natchitoches, No. 968, p. 467. This contract was signed at Campti, August 7, 1837.

⁹⁴ Alienations, Book E, Parish of Avoyelles, No. 2070, pp. 375-376.

⁹⁵ Parish Judges, Book O, Parish of East Baton Rouge, No. not given, pp. 361-362. This plot was designated as No. 2 of Sq. No. 5, on the figurative plan laid out by A. Gras.

⁹⁶ Conveyances, Book 22, Parish of Natchitoches, No. 732, pp. 277-278.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, Book 21, No. 1306, pp. 438-439.

⁹⁸ Conveyances, Book A, Parish of Rapides, No. 27013, pp. 418-419.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

The following item presents further knowledge regarding the living conditions of the free people of color:

Contract to Build a House and Promise
of Sale of Town Lot

The said Lonat and Adolphe Valentin declare that they are to build a house on the lot of the said Fanny [Mézierès, f.w.c.] . . . a frame house thirty feet in length and sixteen feet in width, a gallery eight feet wide in front with hand rails and banisters; ceiled and floored, gallery and rooms; two rooms of equal dimensions with double chimney in the partition; the whole building to be weatherboarded and covered with cypress shingles—four doors and six windows . . . the whole to be done in a plain workman-like manner. The said undertakers shall have the privilege to use the materials, which may be fit to be used, in the old house belonging to the said Fanny. . . . The weatherboarding to be planed only in front. In consideration, the said Euprosine Mézierès binds herself to convey to Lonat and Adolphe one half of the lot given her by Athanase de Mezieres . . . which transfer shall be made as soon as the said house shall be completed and delivered.¹⁰⁰

A general knowledge of the wealth of free people of color and the extent to which they resorted to legal transactions, may be derived from wills, successions, and sales of slaves, land, and other property. Added to these sources of information are mortgage records, which serve to throw much light upon the subject of the propertied class of free negroes.

In a mortgage record of November 4, 1844, Theophile Louis Metoyer, f.m.c. of Natchitoches Parish, acknowledged indebtedness to two attorneys of that parish for the sum of three thousand and eight hundred dollars for which he gave three promissory notes, two for fifteen hundred dollars each and one for eight hundred dollars. As security for the payment of the first two notes, he mortgaged the following property: one tract of land consisting of forty arpents, forty slaves, his right, title, and interest in twenty-five slaves held in common between him and his mother; also a strip of land containing ninety-eight acres, and a plantation on which he resided, together with the buildings and improvements. Another tract of land was given as security for the payment of the third note.¹⁰¹

Other mortgage records filed in Natchitoches Parish involved the following amounts of money and property: Jean Baptiste

¹⁰⁰ Conveyances, Book 21, Parish of Natchitoches, No. 1315, pp. 444-445.

¹⁰¹ Miscellaneous Records, Book 37, Parish of Natchitoches, No. 1884, pp. 19-20.

Metoyer, f.m.c., gave promissory notes and mortgaged land and seven slaves for the payment of a sum of fifty-four hundred dollars;¹⁰² Marie Denige Badin, f.w.c., gave a note of one thousand dollars and gave as security six slaves and cattle and harness which she owned to Marionette Badin, f.w.c., to whom she was indebted;¹⁰³ Justin Olivier, f.w.c., released the mortgage granted in her favor by Pierre Leglise on two slaves as security for the payment of four hundred dollars.¹⁰⁴

Perhaps the most extraordinary legal right which free negroes had during the slavery regime was the privilege to choose a master and voluntarily assume the status of a slave. This right was not extended until the latter part of the slave period. Such a capacity did not exist for the white man though he might have desired to exercise it.¹⁰⁵ Most southern states, notably Virginia and Tennessee, afforded legal means for free negroes to possess this liberty. In 1859 Louisiana provided for voluntary enslavement of free negroes.¹⁰⁶

Theoretically, free negroes had resort to the writ of habeas corpus. In practice this was not always true. Woodson maintains that a large number in southern states were unwillingly enslaved for petty offenses of which almost any poverty-stricken man would have been guilty. Frequently they were arrested on charges of vagrancy, illegal residence, or as suspected fugitives, and were constantly sold for jail fees. As negroes in such situations were not allowed to testify in their own behalf, the official arresting a free negro usually used any charge against him which seemed most convenient. Much of this repression resulted from the determination to keep free negroes subjected so that they would not join slaves in insurrection.¹⁰⁷ Statutes and court records tend to verify the prevailing opinion that free negroes in Louisiana were extended more rights and privileges before the law than were people of this class in other slave states.

Limitations

Statutes and records lend strength to the assumption that the position of the free man of color in Louisiana was an enviable one when contrasted to that of the slave. But fear of a growing

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, No. 1934, pp. 62-63. The mortgage was cancelled on January 17, 1851.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, No. 2074, p. 184. The contract did not specify the number of head of cattle and horses alluded to in the record.

¹⁰⁴ Deposited Acts, A, Parish of Avoyelles, No. 94, pp. 131-132.

¹⁰⁵ W. D. Weatherford, *The Negro from Africa to America* (New York, 1924), 195-196.

¹⁰⁶ *Acts of Louisiana*, 1859, p. 214.

¹⁰⁷ Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 249.

number of increasing influence caused many limitations to be placed upon the free negro's acts and powers¹⁰⁸—limitations similar to those in such other southern states as Tennessee, Georgia, Virginia, and South Carolina.

Aside from restrictions dealing with civil and political privileges which debarred him from voting, holding public office, acting in the capacity of a juror,¹⁰⁹ carrying arms unconditionally,¹¹⁰ or serving in the militia, he did not have the right of locomotion as the white man did. As a rule in the South, free people of color were not permitted to own dogs, firelocks, poisonous drugs, or intoxicants.¹¹¹ Louisiana had no such restrictions.

Under the authority of a special act of the State Legislature, a battalion of free colored men was organized as a part of the militia of New Orleans. During the Spanish regime these men of color were relied upon in times of difficulties, and on several occasions they evinced in the field great firmness and courage. The command of the battalion was committed to Colonel Michel Fortier, a rich merchant of New Orleans.¹¹²

During the war between the United States and Great Britain, General Andrew Jackson considered it wise to levy a new battalion of the same description, so pleased was he with the first organization. A colored man named Joseph Savary, who had distinguished himself in the wars of Santo Domingo, by his valiant fighting against those of his own race, was successful in raising a company of refugees from that island who had cast their lot with the whites when they had fled to Louisiana on being overpowered by their enemies. Savary was given the rank of Captain in the Company which formed a party of the new battalion under command of Major Daquin, a white refugee from Santo Domingo. Colonel Fortier was appointed to command the entire corps of colored men who were all free.¹¹³ "Many of them

¹⁰⁸ Peirce, Taylor, and King, *op. cit.*, 208. "Whosoever shall write, print, publish or distribute anything having a tendency to produce discontent among the free colored population of the State or insubordination among the slaves therein . . . shall be sentenced to imprisonment at hard labor for life, or suffer death, at the discretion of the Court."

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 361. One of the qualifications of a juror, to serve in any of the courts of the state, was that he must be a free white male citizen of the State of Louisiana.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 284. "Free colored persons, who carry arms, are expressly directed to carry with them a certificate of a justice of the peace, attesting their freedom, for want of which they shall be subject to the forfeiture of their arms."

¹¹¹ Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 250.

¹¹² Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1885), IV, 335.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, IV, 406.

have extensive connections and much property to defend and all seem attached to arms."¹¹⁴

Their organization was not liked by the ancient Louisianians and many Americans opposed the formation of a colored corps by speaking and writing against it.¹¹⁵ Governor Claiborne, in a letter to General Andrew Jackson in 1814, wrote:

The mode of acting toward them at the present crisis is an inquiry of importance. If we give them not our confidence, the enemy will be encouraged to intrigue and corrupt them. Inured to the climate of Louisiana, and with constitution and habits adapted to its changes, the men of color are well calculated to render service in this quarter. . . . I think a corps of three or four hundred might be easily raised, who would willingly enter the service of the United States for six months, provided they be employed in Louisiana. I wish to know how far you might be authorized to receive such troops. . . .¹¹⁶

In a letter from General Jackson to the free men of color, he appealed to them with patriotic fervor:

As sons of freedom, you are now called upon to defend our most inestimable blessing. As Americans, your country looks with confidence to her adopted children for a valorous support, as a faithful return for the advantages enjoyed under her mild and equitable government. As fathers, husbands, and brothers you are summoned to rally round the standard of the eagle, to defend all which is dear in existence. . . . To every noble-hearted generous, freeman—men of color, volunteering to serve during the present contest with Great Britain, and no longer, there will be paid the same bounty in money and lands now received by the white soldiers of the United States, viz: one hundred and twenty-four dollars in money, and one hundred and sixty acres of land. . . . Due regard will be paid to the feelings of freemen and soldiers. You will not, by being associated with white men in the same corps, be exposed to improper comparisons, or unjust sarcasm. . . .¹¹⁷

In Jackson's official report after the Battle of New Orleans, he commended Savary's volunteers for great bravery. "The two corps of colored volunteers have not disappointed the hopes that were formed of their courage and perseverance in the performance of their duty."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 336.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 127.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 336.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 355.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 432.

By an Act of the Legislature of 1819, provision was made to grant a pension to Savary. The act read:

Sec. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana . . . ; That the treasurer of the State is hereby authorized to pay every month to Joseph Savary, or to his order, the sum of thirty dollars as a compensation for the services he has rendered to this State, under the orders of Major General Jackson, at the time of the invasion of the British.*¹¹⁹

A Louisiana statute of 1830 provided that free people of color coming into the state after the adoption of the first Constitution thereof and prior to January 1, 1825, should enroll themselves in the office of the recorder of the parish where they might be residing or in the office of the Mayor of New Orleans, "setting forth their age, sex, color, trade, or calling, place of nativity, and the time of their arrival in the state." The recorder was required to transmit to the Mayor of New Orleans a copy of this information, after which he had a general record made of all the lists transmitted from the various parishes in the state. He was forced to keep the general list in his office. Any free negro not having the above information recorded was liable to a fine not exceeding fifty dollars and to imprisonment not exceeding one month. If an officer failed to carry out this specification, he was subject to a fine of not less than fifty dollars and not over one hundred dollars.¹²⁰

This provision did not extend to any free negro, mulatto, or other free person of color, who had been a slave in Louisiana and who had, with the consent of his owner, been emancipated in any other state and afterwards returned to this state.¹²¹

In 1817 entrance into the state was prohibited to free negroes who had been convicted of any crime with a prison sentence. For the importation of such a person, the punishment meted out was most severe. The guilty party, coming into the state, was seized and sold to the highest bidder for cash for the same term of service that he had been bought. One half of the purchase money was to be applied to the use of the state and the other half to the use of the informer. The person responsible for the entrance of the condemned negro (if he knew of the negro's guilt), was fined

¹¹⁹ *Acts of Louisiana*, 1819, pp. 8-10.

¹²⁰ Peirce, Taylor, and King, *op. cit.*, 286.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 287.

five hundred dollars, upon conviction before court, for each free person of color brought in. The money was divided equally between the state and the informer.

Later this legislation was modified. The punishment given the free negro was changed to fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the court, or until the negro in question entered bond and security to leave the state never to return.¹²² It is easy to conceive the difficulty in obtaining bond under such circumstances.

Another class of negroes prohibited from entering Louisiana was that group referred to as *statu liberi*, a term designating slaves entitled to future freedom. This restriction did not come until 1842 along with numerous other limitations legislated against the free negro. The act provided for a fine of one thousand dollars and imprisonment not over six months or both, at the discretion of the court, as punishment for anyone guilty of bringing into the state a *statu liberi*. In addition, the convicted individual was required to pay the expenses incurred in removing the negro in question from the state.¹²³

A resident of Louisiana found guilty of knowingly purchasing a *statu liberi* was not only forced to give up the individual but was held responsible for costs involved in removing the negro from this jurisdiction. A further provision called for the sale of the slave or *statu liberi* for the remaining time required to serve before his freedom was gained, on the condition that he be transported by the purchaser out of the state.¹²⁴

Legislation of 1842 also dealt with the removal of *statu liberi* from Louisiana when they became free.

All *statu liberi* . . . shall, when they become free, be transported out of the state at the expense of the last owner, by proceeding before the parish judge at the suit of any citizen, and such *statu liberi*, . . . shall, on returning into the state, be liable to all the penalties provided by law against free negroes or persons of color coming into the state.¹²⁵

Near the middle of the nineteenth century it was unlawful in many southern states for a free negro to return to the state after leaving. It was feared that he might be spoiled by contact

¹²² *Ibid.*, 285.

¹²³ *Acts of Louisiana*, 1842, p. 316.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

or education. In some instances he was not allowed to move from one county to another without a permit. As a general rule he had to produce identification papers when questioned.¹²⁶

All free persons of color who had not entered Louisiana in violation of law, and who were permanent residents and owners of property within the state or permanent residents who exercised a useful trade and had conducted themselves in an orderly way, were permitted to leave the state and return as their business required. The exception was applied to free negroes going to or returning from the West Indies.¹²⁷

The *Daily Crescent* of October 18, 1848, included an article regarding a certain James Hudes, free man of color, arraigned on a charge of stealing four hundred dollars worth of silver spoons from the steamer Princess. The accused was discharged for lack of proof. "Being in the state in contravention of law, however, he was ordered to leave it." No information was gained as to the evidence of his presence being unlawful.

If a free negro, having been lawfully ordered to depart, failed to carry out the order within the period assigned for his departure, he was held liable and was subject to a year of imprisonment at hard labor, if found guilty before a court of competent jurisdiction or before a judge, justice of the peace, or mayor. In the event that the person convicted failed to leave the state within thirty days after the expiration of his imprisonment he was subject to confinement at hard labor for life.¹²⁸

In 1842 Louisiana passed a law entitled "An Act more effectually to prevent free persons of color from entering into this state, and for other purposes." That part which dealt with the punishment of free persons of color returning after being sent out of the state, reads as follows:

Sec. 4. *Be it further enacted, etc.,* That every free negro, mulatto or person of color who, after having been transported or sent out of this state, in pursuance of this act, shall return into the same, shall, on conviction thereof before a court of competent jurisdiction, be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for five years; and if such free negro, mulatto or person of color shall be found in this state thirty days after the expiration of said imprisonment, he shall be indicted

¹²⁶ Woodson, *Negro Makers of History*, 125.

¹²⁷ Peirce, Taylor, and King, *op. cit.*, 287.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 285-286.

therefor, and on conviction shall be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for life.¹²⁹

Any person found guilty of bringing into this state a free person of color in violation of the law was liable to punishment by a fine not exceeding two hundred dollars for the first offense; and for the second, by imprisonment not exceeding six months and by fine not over one thousand dollars.¹³⁰

State legislation of 1842 prohibited free persons of color coming into Louisiana on board vessels either as employees or passengers. Persons guilty of such offense were to be confined in the parish jail until the vessel was ready to leave port. At such time the master or commander of the boat should, by written permit or order of the judge or justice of the peace in that jurisdiction, carry out of the state the negroes in question and be held responsible for all expenses entailed in their apprehension or detention.¹³¹

The provisions of an Act dealing with the entrance of free negroes included regulations as to security to be given by masters of vessels bringing such people into the state. That section dealing with this requirement read:

Sec. 2. *Be it further enacted, etc.,* That the said judge or justice of the peace shall require from every master or commander of every vessel or steamboat, on board of which any such free negro, mulatto or person of color shall have been brought into this state, that he give bond, with securities, in a sum not to exceed five hundred dollars for each and every such free negro, . . . to pay the expenses and charges of the arrest and detention of every such free negro, . . . and to carry him or her away out of this state; and if for three days after the arrival of such vessel . . . the master or commander thereof shall neglect to give such security, the master and the owners of said vessel . . . shall jointly and severally be liable to a penalty of one thousand dollars for each and every such free negro. . . .

Sec. 3. *Be it further enacted, etc.,* That if the master or commander of any vessel . . ., on board of which any free

¹²⁹ *Acts of Louisiana*, 1842, p. 312.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 308; Jane Louise Mesick, *The English Traveller in America* (New York, 1922), 129-131. The threatened slave insurrection of May, 1822, led South Carolina to enact severe legislation. An investigation brought out the fact that aid had been sought in Santo Domingo and that letters had been carried back and forth by free negroes on the ships coming to Charleston. A new law provided that when a ship entered a port of South Carolina with a free negro on board the vessel, he should be seized and placed in jail until the ship was ready to sail. Then the master of the vessel was forced to pay the cost of detention and to carry the man away, or he would be liable to a fine of a thousand dollars or to imprisonment.

negro, . . . shall have been brought into this state, shall refuse or neglect to transport . . . out of this state such free negro, . . . the said judge or justice of the peace shall order the same to be done by the sheriff of the parish, . . . who shall . . . transport . . . out of the state such free negro, . . . if he or she have the means to pay the same, and if not, at the expense of the state.¹³²

In the same year legislation was effected to require harbor masters and wharfingers of each municipality of New Orleans to report to the recorder in that jurisdiction the arrival of any vessel having on board free negroes. Masters of ships, arriving at that port, were forced within twenty-four hours after their stop, to make a written report to the mayor of New Orleans or, in his absence, to the recorder of the municipality within the limits of which the ship moored, on oath or affirmation of the age, name, and occupation of every free negro on board the vessel, under penalty of a hundred dollars fine for each negro not reported.¹³³

The following year the Legislature amended a law of 1842 entitled "An Act more effectually to prevent free persons of color from entering into this State, and for other purposes." The Act read as follows:

Sec. 1. . . . All free persons of color who may wish to avail themselves of its protection, and who came to this State prior to the year 1838, and have constantly resided here since, shall within thirty days after its promulgation, register their names in the office of the Parish Judge of the Parish in which they reside, stating particularly their ages, places of birth, and their places of previous residence.¹³⁴

The Municipal Councils of the New Orleans districts, in which they lived and the police juries in the parishes where they resided were given authority, upon application of free negroes, to grant permission to them to remain in the location of their home provided that such persons furnished satisfactory evidence of good character and gave bond with satisfactory security conditioned with the clause stipulating a faithful observance of the state laws relative to free persons of color.¹³⁵

¹³² *Acts of Louisiana*, 1842, p. 310.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 314. Woodson, *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830*, xxv. Georgia provided for guardians of free negroes in 1810, and prohibited immigration of others of this class in 1818. Kentucky enacted in 1808 a measure to prevent the entry of free negroes into that state.

¹³⁴ *Acts of Louisiana*, 1843, p. 45.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

Any person who employed or boarded free people of color in Louisiana, contrary to law, if convicted was punished by a fine not exceeding two hundred dollars for each offense. This was not to be construed to prevent free negroes who were natives of Louisiana or who had lived within the state since January 1, 1825, from leaving or returning to the state as they had been allowed to do, "Provided that they shall not have established their domicile in a free state in the union."¹³⁶

Some restrictions which Louisiana placed upon free persons of color resulted from the fear of their influence in causing or joining slave insurrections.¹³⁷ As a means of keeping this class of blacks subjected the Territorial Legislature of 1806 provided:

If any person shall, by words, action or writing, or any other manner whatsoever, persuade, encourage or advise any slave or slaves to insurrection, against the white inhabitants of this State, or the government thereof, such person, on conviction thereof, shall suffer death.¹³⁸

One of the most interesting acts of legislation was that which dealt with the right of legitimation. By repealing Article 217 of the *Louisiana Civil Code*, provision was made whereby natural fathers and mothers could legitimate their natural children by acts declaring their intention, made before a notary and two witnesses. However, the act did not "enable a white parent to legitimate his colored children: Provided the natural children are the issue of parents who might, at the time of conception, have contracted marriage; and provided, that there does not exist, on the parent legitimating his natural offspring, ascendants or legitimate descendants."¹³⁹

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1842, p. 312.

¹³⁷ Peirce, Taylor, and King, *op. cit.*, 551; Catterall, *op. cit.*, III, 613-614. *State vs. Read*, 6 *La. An.*, 227 (March, 1851): "The indictment charges: That . . . Read, . . . of Louisiana, seaman, . . . did in 1850 in public discourse . . . utter the following language in substance . . . 'The negroes . . . are as free as the white man. This is a free country, and that the negroes have no right to call any man master;' which . . . did . . . have a tendency to produce discontent among the free colored population . . . and to excite insubordination among the slaves, . . . contrary to the form of the statute. . . . The jury found the accused guilty . . . and recommended him to the mercy of the court. He was sentenced to be confined at hard labor in the penitentiary for . . . five years, and to pay the cost of prosecution. . . . The motion to arrest the judgment was overruled.

"Judgment arrested: The indictment contains no charge of any criminal intent, and the word feloniously . . . is omitted. . . . Nor is it charged that the words were uttered in the presence . . . of slaves or persons of color.

" . . . When a man's life is put in jeopardy for language made use of with the same particularity as a libel."

¹³⁸ Peirce, Taylor, and King, *op. cit.*, 208; Stuart, *op. cit.*, II, 245. "The enactment against writings was intended to be enforced against the only liberal paper at New Orleans, *Le Liberal*, which occasionally inserted articles favourable to the black population."

¹³⁹ Peirce, Taylor, and King, *op. cit.*, 153-154.

Such a right may be illustrated in the following record of 1835:

Louis Lamotte [f.m.c.], of Natchitoches Parish, declared that he had six natural children, now all living and residing in this Parish, viz: Louis, Arélise, Domassim, Célestin, Floristine, and Nicholas, and all of them he acknowledged to be his, in order to legitimate them, which he does by these presents: being desirous that his said children above named should enjoy all the privileges and exercise all the rights, which the law grants to legitimate children.¹⁴⁰

In most southern states the free negro was better off than the slave in many respects. A vital distinction was made in Louisiana between these two classes of blacks. With the exception of political privileges and social rights, jury and militia service, there was as much difference between the free negro and a slave as there was between the white man and a slave. Free people of color, who had not entered the state unlawfully and were propertied residents or permanent residents who carried on a useful trade, were permitted to enter and leave the state to do business. The free negro was capable of contracting. He could acquire by inheritance and transmit property at will. When charged with crime, he was tried with the same formalities and by the same tribunal as was the white man. Free negroes could bring suit against persons; and in the case of seeming injustice, they could appeal to a higher court. There was a lack of discrimination against them as witnesses and as parties to suits which involved the rights of white persons. Louisiana was the only slave state that extended this privilege. When the negro's right to be free was questioned the burden of proof lay on the person questioning such right. Finally, the free negro was granted the extraordinary privilege of voluntarily assuming the status of a slave.

The freedman was not a citizen of any southern state after 1834.¹⁴¹ During the slavery agitation the free negro was required to show his identification papers when questioned. Limitations were placed upon his entering or leaving the state. He was restricted in the ownership of certain property as firearms, dogs, drugs, and intoxicants. His right to assemble, whether for religious or educational purposes, was limited. Marriage between a free person of color and a slave or between the former and a

¹⁴⁰ Conveyances, Book 21, Parish of Natchitoches, No. 965, pp. 243-244.

¹⁴¹ Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 250.

white person was illegal. A comparative study of the legal status of the free negro in the slave states tends to show definitely that free persons of color in Louisiana had more rights and privileges than did free negroes in other southern states. The legislation and jurisprudence of Louisiana upon this subject differed materially from that of other slave states.

CHAPTER III

MANUMISSION OF SLAVES

Individuals, who had the character of property rather than of persons, were raised by the process of manumission to life and personality within the state. Through this means they were accorded civil rights and civil liberty.

The three general methods by which slaves in Louisiana were manumitted or legally set free were: (1) by act of the legislature, (2) by last will and testament, and (3) by deed. Written instruments of manumission, other than wills, were usually referred to as "deeds of manumission" or "deeds of emancipation". In the strict sense of the word such instruments were not deeds because they included no transfer of property from one to another but they bore a close analogy to such legal processes.

Manumissions were so common in deeds and wills of men of the Revolutionary period that the number of colored freemen in the South exceeded 35,000 in 1790 and was practically doubled in each of the next two decades. The great caution of their successors, reinforced by the rise of slave prices, then slackened the rate to twenty-five and finally to ten per cent per decade.¹⁴²

The slaves manumitted for meritorious service and those who bought their freedom, formed a class of substantial value in the free colored population of the South. Self purchase was usually a proof of thrift, which characterized worth-while residents of a community. Many of these in either group were of mixed blood; and to them were added the mulatto and quadroon children quite frequently set free by their white fathers. By virtue oftentimes of gifts in lands, goods, and money, they were in the propertied class from the time of manumission.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Phillips, *op. cit.*, 425-453.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 429-430.

Records reveal that many slaves won their freedom because of faithfulness or good service, or both. The most common types of deeds of emancipation are illustrated in the following cases:

Joseph Jeffrion, an inhabitant of Avoyelles Parish, acknowledges and declares that for the consideration of the fidelity and good conduct of his slave named Louis, aged about thirty-nine years, since his infancy up to the present date, hath this day emancipated and set at full liberty, Louis.¹⁴⁴

Louis Cloiseau of Natchitoches Parish, in consequence of the long and faithful services to him rendered by his negro slave named Agnes, now aged about forty-eight years, he doth emancipate, manumit, and affranchise the said Agnes from the bonds of slavery.¹⁴⁵

As testamentary executor of the deceased Peter Guidry of East Baton Rouge Parish, Charles Tessier, Parish Judge, . . . manumitted . . . the negro woman Nancy over thirty years of age, in remuneration for her faithful services to her deceased master.¹⁴⁶

Some of the deeds of sale contain provisions for future emancipation of slaves. In the sale of the mulatto boy Amos, aged thirteen years, the son of Louisa Bush, a free woman of color of Rapides Parish, for seven hundred dollars, the owner of the slave, John A. Ragan of Natchitoches Parish, inserted the clause:

It is expressly understood and agreed upon by the two parties that so soon as the said boy, Amos, shall have completed his twenty-first year, his mother shall affranchise and emancipate him, or sooner, if it can be done.¹⁴⁷

In order to free slaves, certain legal procedure was specified. Article 185 of the *Louisiana Civil Code* prescribed that the slave must be thirty years of age and have for four years preceding emancipation, "led an honest conduct, without having run away and without having committed any robbery, or having been guilty of any other criminal misdemeanor." Such prerequisites were not complied with when the slave to be emancipated had saved the life of his master, of his wife, or any of his children.

The general procedure called for a declaration to be made by the intended emancipator before the judge of the district court of the parish in which he resided (or before one of the judges

¹⁴⁴ Alienations, Book B, Parish of Avoyelles, No. 654, pp. 242-243. Recorded May 6, 1817.

¹⁴⁵ Conveyances, Book 21, Parish of Natchitoches, No. 969, p. 245. Recorded September 14, 1835.

¹⁴⁶ Parish Judges, Book O, Parish of East Baton Rouge, No. 268, pp. 267-268. The act of manumission occurred December 5, 1833. It was recorded April 8, 1834.

¹⁴⁷ Conveyances, Book 21, Parish of Natchitoches, No. 1138, p. 335.

of the district courts if he lived in New Orleans) that the slave to be freed was of the proper age and had led the conduct requisite to being free. Immediately, the judge ordered a notice to be posted in the parish, both in French and English, including the following provision:

A N, inhabitant of the (blank) of (blank) having intention to emancipate his or her slave or slaves (male or female) named (blank) and (blank) years of age, every person who may have any legal opposition to said emancipation, are [*sic*] required to file said opposition in the office of the (blank) court of said (blank) within forty days from the date of the present notice.

[Signed] MR,

Sheriff of the Parish of (blank)¹⁴⁸

After the expiration of the specified time, if no valid opposition were given, the district court authorized the petitioner to have the instrument of emancipation drawn up. It was considered valid unless contested afterward as having been made with a view of defrauding creditors, minors, or people either absent or residing out of the parish where the notice of intended liberation was given. The act provided that the intention to defraud creditors should always be presumed, if at the time of emancipation the donor did not have other property sufficient to take care of his financial obligations.¹⁴⁹ Hence, if a slaveowner freed his negroes and it was found that he had debts contracted before such manumission, the negroes could be resold into slavery to satisfy such creditors. This protection to creditors and to widows in their dowers was enforced even in cases where slaves had bought their freedom, provided such purchases occurred after the debt was contracted.¹⁵⁰ This method of protection was characteristic of all slave states.

No statute of limitations could be appealed to by negroes who had been free for five, ten, or apparently any number of years to stop an execution upon them for the debts contracted by their owners before liberation.¹⁵¹

Should a slaveowner desire to emancipate his slave who was under thirty years of age, he was required to petition the police

¹⁴⁸ Peirce, Taylor, and King, *op. cit.*, 547-548; Alienations, Book B, Parish of Avoyelles, No. 653, p. 242. "Joseph Jeffrion, père, an inhabitant of the Parish of Avoyelles, having intention to emancipate his male slave named Louis Lanola, aged about 39 years; any person who may have any legal opposition to said emancipation are [*sic*] required to file said opposition in the office of the Parish Judge of said parish within 40 days from date of present notice, March 22, 1817."

¹⁴⁹ Peirce, Taylor, and King, *op. cit.*, 548.

¹⁵⁰ Goodell, *op. cit.*, 343.

¹⁵¹ John H. Russell, *The Free Negro in Virginia, 1619-1865* (Baltimore, 1913), 83.

jury of the parish in which he resided or the recorder of the municipality if he lived in New Orleans, stating his reasons for wishing to liberate his slave. If three-fourths of the members of the police jury together with the president, or three-fourths of the council together with the recorder, voted that the motives were sufficient to justify the emancipation, the petitioner was authorized to proceed with certain formalities required by the *Civil Code*.¹⁵² The following case illustrates the procedure cited above.

Francois Roubien, being authorized by the police jury and by the parish judge . . . he has emancipated, manumitted, and affranchised his quateroon slaves, viz: Mulville, a boy aged five years and Julie, a girl aged three years, from the bonds of slavery.¹⁵³

Legislation of 1830 required owners of freed slaves to give bond in the sum of one thousand dollars for each slave intended to be freed, with the provision that the slave should permanently leave the state within one month after passage of the act of emancipation. If the manumitted negro failed to carry out this provision, the bond was forfeited.¹⁵⁴ These provisions did not apply to persons emancipated for meritorious services to the state. Nor did they concern a slaveholder who had gained the consent of the police jury of the parish in which he lived or of the council in the community where he resided "to emancipate himself or family." Under such circumstances the owner was dispensed with furnishing the bond and the emancipated slave was not forced to leave the state.¹⁵⁵

When manumitting was done by last will and testament, the formalities prescribed by law for emancipation were required to be fulfilled by the testamentary executors, administrators, heirs, or representatives of the testator.¹⁵⁶

Several large proprietors made provision either by will or deed for the liberty of their slaves after the lapse of a certain number of years. Prominent among them were three Louisianians, Julian Poydras, Stephen Henderson, and John McDonogh.

¹⁵² Peirce, Taylor, and King, *op. cit.*, 548-549.

¹⁵³ Conveyances, Book 21, Parish of Natchitoches, No. 804, p. 158, April 15, 1835.

¹⁵⁴ Peirce, Taylor, and King, *op. cit.*, 549.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 549. "The consent of the police jury, or of the council . . . shall be given by the three-fourths of members thereof, at two successive meetings, and who shall set forth in writing their motives for granting the same. In the event of the forfeiture of the bond mentioned . . . , the slave emancipated shall be subject to a special privilege for the payment of the same."

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 548.

Poydras, an emigrant from Santo Domingo, became noted for his plantations, slaves, palatial houses, honors, and princely charities to his state and city.¹⁵⁷ He ordered his executors to sell his six plantations with their respective staffs, under contracts to secure the freedom of each slave after a twenty-five year period of service to the purchaser, together with an annual pension of twenty-five dollars to each slave above sixty years of age.¹⁵⁸

Stephen Henderson, a Scotch immigrant who became the owner of several sugar plantations and six or seven hundred slaves, provided by his will in 1837 that:

At the end of five years . . . there may be drawn by lot out of all the slaves, . . . five females and five males, who will be furnished with a free passage to our settlement in Africa, and one hundred dollars each; but they must go of their own free will and return back to slavery if ever they return back to this country.¹⁵⁹

John McDonogh, a Scotch Presbyterian, came from Maryland to New Orleans in the early part of the nineteenth century. He soon built up a great mercantile business which included importing and exporting in his own vessels. He was recognized as a man of commercial genius. McDonogh owned quantities of land and an army of slaves. Real estate was the backbone of the immense fortune, practically the whole of which he left to the cities of Baltimore and New Orleans for public education.¹⁶⁰ The importance of McDonogh is derived principally from his will and from his contribution to the solution of the slavery problem. Of equal interest was his method of dealing with his slaves and his unique system of emancipation.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ King, *op. cit.*, 124-126. Julian Poydras de Lalande, a young French Protestant, came to Louisiana shipwrecked in time only to witness its transfer to Spain. He began his fortune by furnishing himself with a peddler's pack in New Orleans, and starting up the coast on foot. He amassed a fortune, a great deal of which he left to charity; founding an orphan asylum for boys in New Orleans, bequeathing forty thousand dollars to the Charity Hospital, thirty thousand dollars to establish a college for boys in his parish of Pointe Coupée, and thirty thousand dollars to each of the parishes of West Baton Rouge and Pointe Coupée, the interest on which was to be given to girls, without fortunes, who married within the year.

¹⁵⁸ Poydras *vs.* Mourrain, 9 *La. Reports*, 492.

¹⁵⁹ *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore), LXVIII (1845), 361-362; Executors of Henderson *vs.* Heirs, 12 *Robinson La.*, 549 (February, 1846). In the meanwhile the heirs brought suit against the executors of the will. However, the Court "decreed. . . that, on the demand of the executors, the defendants. . . deliver to them for transportation all but Daniel who was improperly drafted, as he could not give his consent thereto. . . and that for each . . . one hundred dollars be paid . . . with the expenses of the transportation, . . . with the costs in both courts. Manumission unnecessary. [Martin, J.]"

¹⁶⁰ Appendix C, "Interesting Facts Concerning John McDonogh."

¹⁶¹ M. Swearingen, "The John McDonogh Papers", in *Southwest Review* (Dallas, Texas), XIX (1934), 348-350. The John McDonogh Papers, now in possession of Tulane University, offer the first opportunity which historians have had to obtain an adequate knowledge of McDonogh. The papers comprise between four and five thousand items, all manuscript. Apparently only three of these have been published. They include: "letters of all sorts to McDonogh, business papers such as bills, receipts, inventories, cargo lots, and the like, drafts of plans for various ventures philanthropic and otherwise, and miscellaneous pieces of all kinds." A complete catalogue of the collection is under way. Members of the Tulane faculty have begun extensive McDonogh researches that will, it is hoped, lead to the completion of a full biography.

According to the custom of most slaveowners, Sundays were the only days when the servants were free to do as they pleased. This violation of the Sabbath distressed the conscientious McDonogh. He required from his slaves only five and one-half days of work, thus leaving them free to use Saturday afternoons for their chores. This was conditioned upon the promise that they would not do these things on Sunday. The donation of an afternoon caused this practical philanthropist to raise the question, "Why not let them buy their freedom?" He worked out a wage scale according to which he agreed to pay the men sixty-two and one-half cents a day in the summer, and fifty cents in the winter. Women were to be paid fifty cents a day during the summer when the days were longest and they could accomplish the greatest amount of work. They were to receive thirty-seven and one-half cents per day in the winter. On this basis the slaves would be able to purchase their freedom a day at a time until they owned the entire week, which meant independence and freedom.¹⁶²

McDonogh estimated the individual value of his slaves. Then one Saturday afternoon in the little chapel which he had erected on his plantation, he related to some of his best negroes his purpose in helping them work out their freedom, saying, "That is, your freedom in Liberia, the land of your fathers; . . . it is your freedom in Liberia that I contract for. I would never consent to give freedom to a single individual among you to remain on the same soil as the white man."¹⁶³

The terms of the contract were quite intricate and meticulously planned. He explained them carefully to his slaves:

One half of Saturday being already your own, (in consequence of my agreement with you that no labor should be done on the Sabbath day,) your first object will be to gain a sufficient sum of money to purchase the other half of Saturday, which is the one-eleventh part of the time you have to labor for your master, and in consequence the one-eleventh part of the value your master has put upon you, and which you have to pay him for your freedom. This, I notify you, will be the most difficult part of your undertaking, and will take the longest time to accomplish, and is to be effected by laboring for me on Saturday afternoons, and leaving the amount of labor in my hands to be husbanded up for you. By foregoing everything yourselves, and drawing as

¹⁶² Lane Carter Kendall, "John McDonogh—Slave Owner," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XV (1932), 653-654.

¹⁶³ James T. Edwards, ed., *Some Interesting Papers of John McDonogh, Chiefly Concerning the Louisiana Purchase and the Liberian Colonization* (McDonogh, Maryland, 1898), 48.

little money as possible out of my hands, I calculate you will be able to accomplish it in about seven years. That once accomplished, and one whole day of the six your own, you will go on more easily, and rapidly; indeed, that once effected, your success is certain. You will be enabled easily by your earnings on one entire day in each week to effect the purchase of another day of your time in about four years. Now master and owner of two days in each week, you will be able in two years more to purchase another day; so that three days or the one-half of your time, will be your own; in one and one-half years more you will be able to purchase another day, making four days your own; in a year more, another or the fifth day, and in six months, the last day, or the whole of your time will be your own. Your gains in less than another year will suffice to free, (added to what the youths will have gained in the meantime,) your children and all will be accomplished. In the foregoing estimate, I calculate that you will draw from me occasionally some small sums of money to furnish little necessities you may need; but you will remember, when one draws, the whole of you must draw at the same time; the men, an equal sum each; the women, the three-fourths part each of the sums drawn by the men. You shall be estimated at fair and reasonable prices—say the men at six hundred dollars each, the women at four hundred and fifty dollars, and the boys, girls, and children in proportion. An account shall be opened at once on my books and your valuations charged, without taking into account the increased valuation of the youths and children as they advance in age, and no child to be charged that shall be born after the commencement of this agreement. This to be in some measure a counterbalance to an interest account, as none will be calculated or allowed you on account of your gains in my hands. Such men and women as have no children of their own, when they have worked out their prices, shall be held and obligated to assist in paying for the children of the others, so that the whole company shall go on the same day on board ship and sail for your fatherland. I expect and shall insist on the strict performance of your moral and religious duties in every respect. . . . Should any of you commit crimes at any time whilst serving under agreement, he or she shall immediately be put up at public sale (their offenses declared and made known) and sold; and whatever money they had earned under this agreement shall go to the benefit of the others in general.

He continues further:

Their surprise and astonishment at such a proposal . . . may be easily conceived; they gave their consent with tears of joy, declared the confidence they entertained of

my truth, honesty, and pure intentions to do them and their children good, and their willingness . . . to be guided in all things by me. . . . On separating I told them to communicate my plans and proposal to their adult fellow-servants, male and female, and to say to them that none were bound or forced to come into the arrangement who had any objections to it; . . . that such as did not wish to accept of it should go on under the same old regulations . . . and I requested one and all of them to consult together through the week and to give me their final answer . . . on the next Sabbath in church; . . . charging them as they valued my affection to keep what I had said to them (desirous as I was to avoid making the slaves of other plantations unhappy and discontented) in their own bosoms, and never to disclose it, until after they should have left the country for Africa, to a living being on earth. . . . On the next Sabbath day I met them in church, and was told that they had informed all their fellow-servants of my views and intentions towards them; . . . that they had well reflected during the past week on all that I had said to them; that they were at a loss for words to express their love and gratitude for me for what I had done and was now desirous of doing for them and their children, and that they had always looked on me in the light of a father, deeply interested in their welfare; that I was the only true friend they had on earth; . . . that they accepted one and all the proposals I had made them.

Kindness and good business sense were combined in McDonogh's plan to free his slaves. His scheme was intended to work out so that it would enable him to purchase two slaves for the price that each of his own black servants paid him for freedom. No concessions were to be granted to the blacks during the time that they were working for their liberation. "Their freedom was to be the prize of diligence," and incidentally, McDonogh would profit by their labors.¹⁶⁴

Their manumission was effected in fourteen and one-half years, in August, 1840. But as abolitionists of the northern and eastern states had caused excitement in Louisiana not only among the owners of slaves but among the slaves themselves, he considered it unsafe to let them go just at that time.¹⁶⁵

McDonogh's plan was materialized just as he expected. It made money for him. The slaves did much more than their share of work. The philanthropist was inspired by the change which came over his slaves as a result of his agreement with them. He

¹⁶⁴ Kendall, *loc. cit.*, XVI, 125-128.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, XVI, 129; Edwards, *op. cit.*, 57.

commented on the extreme care in their labor and industry which veritably took possession of them. They never seemed to tire of laboring. Mr. E. D. Parker, at one time a wealthy resident of New Orleans, was so impressed with the industry and constancy of McDonogh's slaves that he attempted to purchase a negro foreman, Jim Thornton. Parker did not know about the agreement between the owner and his slaves. He finally offered five thousand dollars for the foreman, because, as he said:

Why, Sir, I am an early riser, getting up before day; I am awakened every morning of my life by the noise of their trowels at work and their singing and noise before day; and they work as long as they can see to lay brick, and then carry up brick and mortar for an hour or two afterwards, to be ahead at their work the next morning. And again, sir, do you think they walk at their work? No, sir, they run all day. I never saw such people as those, sir; I do not know what to make of them. Was there a white man over them with whip in hand all day, why then I could understand the cause of their incessant labor; but I cannot comprehend it, sir. Great man, sir, that Jim,—great man, sir. I should like to own him.¹⁶⁶

Not only did a change characterize their work, but they became temperate and religious, "setting an example of innocent and unoffending lives to the world around them, which was seen and admired by all."¹⁶⁷

During the period that the slaves worked for their liberation, they were taught every trade which their master thought would benefit them after they had gained their freedom. A school was provided for the children, over which was placed a teacher who lived in McDonogh's home. To provide professional service for the negroes after they went to Africa, McDonogh selected two of his young slaves for the purpose of having them educated, one as a physician and the other as a minister.¹⁶⁸

McDonogh was unable to obtain accommodations in New Orleans for the negroes' voyage to Liberia so he secured the patronage and care of the American Colonization Society, of which

¹⁶⁶ Kendall, *loc. cit.*, XVI, 130-131.

¹⁶⁷ Edwards, *op. cit.*, 58.

¹⁶⁸ Kendall, *loc. cit.*, XVI, 132. The two boys were named David and Washington McDonogh. They were provided special tutors at Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania, where they completed their courses. Washington remained in school for three years and in 1842 he left for Liberia where, as a teacher and missionary, he became one of the most valuable and beloved members of the colony. David remained in college for six years, after which he went to New York to complete his medical studies. Nothing definite is known of his career; however, he did not go to Liberia.

he was at that time one of the vice-presidents. Accordingly, on March 21, 1842, the Secretary of the organization notified the governor of Liberia to prepare for the coming of the New Orleans colonists, and that "nothing be neglected in order to secure the health, safety, and property of this most interesting and valuable body of immigrants." A ship was sent to New Orleans to transport the negroes, approximately eighty in number, to their new home.¹⁶⁹ Each family was given from sixty to one hundred acres on their arrival and they were advanced sufficient provisions to last six months. It was estimated that this length of time was required for acclimatization.

The departure of the slaves represented the loss of old friends to McDonogh. A letter which he wrote to a newspaper, in which he explained his actions, contained this paragraph:

The scene (at taking leave of them) I will not attempt to describe. It can never be erased from my memory. Though standing in need of consolation myself (in bidding a last farewell on earth to those who had so many claims on my affection, and who had been round and about me for such a long series of years), I had to administer it to them who stood in greater need of it, and tell them that the separation was but for a brief period of time, and that we should meet again, I trusted, in a better and happier state. . . . On Saturday morning, the Rev. Mr. McLain, the agent of the American Colonization Society, crossed the river to dispatch the ship and see them take their departure. After seeing them off, Mr. McLain came into my house for breakfast, and on seeing him much affected in his manner, I inquired if anything had happened to give him pain; to which he replied: "Oh, sir, it was an affecting sight to see them depart. They were all on the deck of the ship, and your servants who have not gone were on the shore bidding them farewell, when from every tongue on board the ship I heard the charge to those on shore: 'Fanny, take care of our master; James, take care of our master; take care of our master, as you love us, and hope to meet us in heaven—take care of our beloved master.'"¹⁷⁰

His slaves loved and revered him. He wrote of them,

I can say with truth and heartfelt satisfaction, that a more virtuous people does not exist in any community. . . . Should it [what I have written] induce but one planter in the state to try the mode I pursued so much to my own

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, XVI, 132-133; King, *op. cit.*, 369; Edwards, *op. cit.*, 56. The last two writers state that the freed negroes left for Liberia in 1841.

¹⁷⁰ Kendall, *loc. cit.*, XVI, 133-134.

satisfaction and pecuniary advantage, and meet with the same success which has attended my attempt, I shall consider the time it has cost in giving the relation well spent, and myself fully repaid.¹⁷¹

In regard to the adverse criticism of the complicated method by which his slaves gained their liberty, the unnecessary length of time required in service—he replied, “Without hope for a certain something in the future to look forward to and aspire to, man would be nothing. Deprive him of this inspiring faculty of soul and he would grovel in the dust as a brute.” According to his theory, the slaves would be filled with this hope. The good in view would prove sufficient urge “to faithfulness, fidelity, industry, economy, and every virtue and good work.” The basis of McDonogh’s plan was religion.

McDonogh’s letters contain several references to the colony of negroes which he sent to Africa. To Mrs. Sarah Bella McLean, wife of Judge McLean of Cincinnati, he wrote on May 6, 1844:

I have the pleasure to inform you, madam, of the arrival of a ship here from Liberia, . . . bringing me letters highly pleasing from that part of my black family which I had sent there. He [Captain] informs me that he has seen them all. . . . They informed him that they were happy, and were in possession of everything they could desire, fine plantations, etc.¹⁷²

Though the detailed plan of this slaveowner worked out greatly to his own satisfaction, general opinion tended to conclude that the mass of blacks were not desirous of their liberty to the extent of exerting themselves by laboring for their own emancipation. In several instances where the attempt was made to have them work out their freedom, the plan met with signal failure and that seemingly always from the lack of interest displayed by the blacks.¹⁷³

Manumission in Louisiana was carried out chiefly by the whites. Consequently the majority of manumissions were ostensibly gratuitous. Even when the freedom resulted from the combined efforts of slaves and masters, the instrumentality of the latter often predominated. However, negroes contributed towards securing their own liberty, first by self-redemption, as

¹⁷¹ Edwards, *op. cit.*, 58, 71.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 79. It is interesting to note that though McDonogh bought slaves, he refused to sell one unless there occurred some grave form of misconduct.

¹⁷³ Houston, *op. cit.*, II, 216-217.

cited in the McDonogh case, and secondly, by manumitting other negroes that had come into their possession as property. Ingraham, in *The Southwest*, relates a conversation with a negro whom he had employed. Upon inquiring who his master was, the black pointed to a steady old negro who had purchased himself, his wife, and subsequently his three children by his own labor and thrift. At the time of this incident the negro owned a comfortable house, a piece of land, and two or three slaves, to whom he could add one every three years. It was characteristic of the race that the free negro, who purchased his wife's freedom always thereafter considered her in the light of property.¹⁷⁴

Slaveholding by negroes for profitable purposes was not common in Louisiana. Instruments transferring slaves to negroes occasionally freed them, or less frequently provided that the grantee should manumit. Those not so bound could do as they chose and some of them held consorts or children or both as slaves for long periods of years. The *Census Report* of 1830 revealed a total of 3,777 negro heads of families who owned slaves. Most of these were wives, husbands, and children whom the owners could not free without sending them out of the state. A majority of these negroes lived in Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia.¹⁷⁵

In manumitting slaves, negro masters used the same forms of deeds and wills as white owners did. Numerous records disclose the manumission of slaves of free colored people by reason of loyal and faithful service to the owner; but I have not found a single instance where all of the slaves owned by a free black were voluntarily liberated. On the contrary, they were, as a rule, considered hard taskmasters who got from their slave property all that they could.¹⁷⁶ Olmsted relates the opinion expressed by a slave, "You might think master, dat dey would be good to dar own nation; but day is not. . . . I'd rather be a servant to any man in the world, dan to a brack man. If I was sold to a brack man, I'd drown myself."¹⁷⁷

The deed of emancipation made by Augustin Metoyer, a free man of color of Natchitoches Parish, provided that:

In consideration of faithful service to him rendered by his slave named Remy, now aged about forty-five years, and

¹⁷⁴ Ingraham, *op. cit.*, II, 249-252.

¹⁷⁵ Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, 124.

¹⁷⁶ Wilson, *loc. cit.*, CLXXXI, 689.

¹⁷⁷ Olmsted, *op. cit.*, 680.

being thereto authorized by the police jury, as well as by the affranchised . . . he doth emancipate, manumit, and affranchise the said Remy from the bonds of slavery.¹⁷⁸

Suzette Ronguier, a free woman of color of the same parish, freed her slave John Baptist, aged about thirty-five years. The reason for liberating the slave was not stipulated.¹⁷⁹

Joseph Lange, a free negro of East Baton Rouge Parish, manumitted his mulatto slave, Robert, "over thirty years of age," in remuneration for his faithful services.¹⁸⁰

Not unusual are records which disclose purchase of slaves by free negroes for the purpose of liberating their wives, husbands, or children then in bondage. Victor Vincents, a free man of color, after buying the right and title to his children, Mary Victorine and Louis Victor, obtained legal authority to release them from bondage.¹⁸¹

The contract of 1835 does not designate future freedom for the children purchased by Ely and Rhoda, free persons of color, but there is cause to believe that such a purpose influenced the making of the following bargain:

John R. Dunn, Esquire of Natchitoches Parish, for the consideration of \$1,450 to him in ready money paid, he does sell . . . unto Ely and Rhoda . . . this day emancipated by the said Dunn, two slaves, viz: Belindo, aged about twenty-two years, and Henry, aged about two years . . . both children of Ely and Rhoda.¹⁸²

Deeds of emancipation frequently included a promise on the part of the master to care for the freed slave in the event of illness or need.

Julie Eliche, . . . in consequence of fidelity and good conduct of her female slave, named Marriane, aged about fifty years, set free, . . . binding and obligating herself, her heirs, assigns, by these presents to nourish and maintain said Marriane . . . whenever she shall be in want owing to sickness, old age, insanity, or any other proved infirmity, and for the faithful performance of this act of emancipation she . . . gives as security Stephen Herriman, who being personally present, acknowledge and consents to same.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁸ Conveyances, Book 21, Parish of Natchitoches, No. 712, p. 109, January 3, 1835.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 1304, p. 437, August 4, 1836.

¹⁸⁰ Parish Judges, Book O, Parish of East Baton Rouge, pp. 339-340, September 28, 1834.

¹⁸¹ Conveyances, Book A-1, Parish of East Baton Rouge, No. 153, pp. 157-158. Recorded June 4, 1847.

¹⁸² Conveyances, Book 21, Parish of Natchitoches, No. 828, p. 170.

¹⁸³ Alienations, Book D, Parish of Avoyelles, pp. 111-112.

Significance of colored slaveholdings in New Orleans was evidenced by numerous applications of negro slaveowners for authority to liberate slaves with exemption from legal requirement that new freedmen leave the state. Some were denied the right to manumit, on the ground that proof was lacking that the slaves in question were natives of the state or that they would be self-supporting. Others were granted this privilege. A striking example of such petitions was that presented in 1832 by Marie Louise Bitaud, a free woman of color. In the preceding year she had bought her daughter and grandchild for \$700. A lawyer later told her that because of her lack of relatives to inherit her property, in the event of death intestate, her slaves would revert to the state.¹⁸⁴ She became very agitated over such a prospect and entreated authorities for permission to manumit them without their having to leave Louisiana. Consent was granted on the condition that the petitioner furnish a bond of \$500 to insure the support and education of the grandson until he became of age. This provision was carried out.¹⁸⁵

Some of these transported from the state after being manumitted met with keen disappointment and loneliness. Thirty-eight slaves were carried to New York by a certain Mr. Simonds, executor of the will of Mr. Creswell of Louisiana, where they were to be freed and sent into the country. This plan was interfered with by abolitionists who persuaded the negroes that they were to be resold into bondage. Consequently, many of them refused to go. A note from Mr. Simonds contained the following: "Several of them have begged me to take them back with me—saying I might keep them as slaves, or sell them—that they were happy before and wretched now."

Among the group was an emancipated girl, about twelve years old. She was offered a position in a Vermont home where she was to be given educational advantages similar to those enjoyed by members of the family. A New Orleans merchant started from that city with the girl and his own daughter. Mr. Simonds planned to meet the man in New York to furnish the negro with emancipation papers. A short time before the steamer reached Buffalo, the negress was kidnapped by abolitionists, transferred

¹⁸⁴ Phillips, *op. cit.*, 434-435; Woodson, *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830*, xxxii. "If there were no relatives legally qualified to receive the inheritance, such property escheated to the State, inasmuch as slaves were not considered as persons before the law."

¹⁸⁵ Phillips, *op. cit.*, 434-435.

to a British steamer, and conveyed to Canada. According to a newspaper account of the episode, the man in charge of the negro girl used every legal means to recover her. He succeeded in locating her but he was not permitted to see her. In the *New York Tribune* was published a letter dated St. Catherine's, Canada, boasting of the abduction and rescue from a slaveholder. A friend of Mr. Simonds wrote to the author of the letter, urging him to return the girl to the executor of Mr. Creswell's will, but the reply was to the effect that slaveholders were "inhuman and hellish."¹⁸⁶

Inducements to free negroes in America to try their fortunes in other lands were strikingly significant. The American Colonization Society offered facilities for emigration to Liberia from 1819 onward. In 1840 an immigration society in British Guiana offered transportation to free negroes who would move there. The Haitian government, under President Boyer, made overtures in the way of special inducements in 1824; and in 1859 that little republic once more sent invitations, particularly to the French-speaking colored people of Louisiana. She promised free land to all who would live there, as well as free transportation to those who could not pay their passage.¹⁸⁷ These opportunities to go to foreign fields were seldom seized.

John McDonogh was deeply interested in the American Colonization Society. The organization's paper, *Liberian Advocate*, published many of his letters which he wrote with a view of advancing the society's work.¹⁸⁸ His will, executed in 1838, further illustrates his connection with the organization:

I . . . bequeath, their freedom, (as a reward for their long, and faithful services,) to my [ten] old servants, Gabriel [*et al.*] . . . I direct my executors, . . . immediately after my death, to correspond with the American Colonization Society, at Washington, . . . for the purpose of ascertaining, when said Society, intends sending a vessel to Liberia . . . with emigrants, from New Orleans, and by the first vessel . . . to send all the rest . . . of my black people, . . . (with the exception of the black man Philip [*et al.*] . . . all of whom I have lately purchased, as it is my will, that they . . . with any other black, or colored people, whom I may acquire . . . subsequent to the date of this . . . Will, . . . shall serve those, (by being hired out . . . or kept

¹⁸⁶ *DeBow's Review* (New Orleans), XIV (1853), 90.

¹⁸⁷ Phillips, *op. cit.*, 447-448.

¹⁸⁸ Edwards, *op. cit.*, 58; Appendix C, "Letter of John McDonogh to Reverend R. R. Gurley."

employed on my plantation, . . .) to whom I have . . . willed the . . . residue . . . of my Estate . . . fifteen years from . . . my death; when . . . my Executors . . . will deliver [them] . . . up to the American Colonization Society . . . to be also sent to Liberia, . . .) And to pay a proportionate part of the Charter of . . . Vessel . . . furnishing them with provisions, stores, medicines, etc., . . . for the Voyage.—I also direct my Executors . . . to . . . expend for the use of those, my people, who are to go immediately after my death, . . . *One thousand dollars* in such Articles as ploughs, hoes, spades, axes, nails, common locks, hinges, clothing, garden and other seeds, etc., . . . and divide . . . among them in equal proportions, and see them put on board. . . . My Executor will also . . . give letters of recommendation to those my people, directed to the inhabitants of that Colony, setting forth . . . the morality of their lives, . . . and purchase and place in the hands of each . . . at the moment of sailing . . . the Old and New Testament, as the most precious of all the gifts we have in our power to give. . . . I give . . . to the American Colonization Society . . . an Annuity for Forty Years . . . of the one eighth part . . . of the net yearly revenue of rents of the whole of the Estate . . . but [it] shall not entitle the . . . Society . . . to receive . . . in any one year [more than \$25,000]. . . . Trusting . . . that the inhabitants of this free and happy land . . . from Maine to Louisiana, will sustain this institution, (one of the greatest glories of our country).¹⁸⁹

Stephen Henderson directed in his last will that his slaves (six or seven hundred in number) be sent by the American Colonization Society to Liberia. This organization was particularly concerned in the case when the heirs contested the will. " . . . the decree of the court is, that the will must be carried out and the slaves sent to Africa. It was delivered by . . . Francis Xavier Martin. . . . As this decision deeply interests the country and the Colonization Society, it should be immediately attended to by it."¹⁹⁰

Manumissions either became effective at once or provided for freedom to begin at some future date. In the sale of the mulatto girl Cécile, aged about thirteen years, the following instructions were specified:

It is understood expressly between the parties, that so soon as the law will permit him to do so, the said Julien Gagne [purchaser of the slave] shall emancipate and enfranchise . . . Cécile from the bonds of slavery.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ Catterall, *op. cit.*, III, 628-629.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 575; *Niles' Weekly Register*, LXVIII (1845), 361-362.

¹⁹¹ Conveyances, Book 21, Parish of Natchitoches, No. 960, September 4, 1835.

Some, especially in wills, made the date of freedom dependent upon the death of the legatees. In the will of Mary Lakin "she bequeaths to her husband, John Lakin, her mulatto boy slave, named Peter, of about eleven years, . . . it being an express condition that at the death of the said Lakin . . . Peter shall be emancipated. . . ." ¹⁹²

The testamentary method served equally well the master who wished to lend his slaves to heirs for a period during their lifetime or until the slaves should reach a certain age.

"Manumission in future" was the term applied to the act of the master whose will provided for the freedom of his slaves at a specified time after his death. In making wills of "manumission in future," the slaveowner affixed conditions to the possession of freedom by the slaves. A master had the right to make the freedom depend upon some act or condition of the slave or upon some event, if the act, condition, or event were to be determined before freedom began. If a master freed his slave upon condition that the negro's children be slaves, the manumission was valid but the conditions stipulated were of no force. This was not applicable to cases of children born of slave mothers at any time before they had a right, according to the provisions of the will, to their freedom. Such offspring were slaves.

In the case of *Catin vs. D'Orgenoy's Heirs* (1820), the plaintiff plead for her children's liberty. ". . . the defendant's ancestors in the deed of emancipation produced by the plaintiff, says, 'I hold, as my slave, a Creole negro girl Catin, aged eighteen, . . . born in my service, from . . . Martha, to whom I gave her freedom, according to . . . deed, which I executed before . . . notary, last year, 1801, and I have offered . . . Catin her freedom, on certain conditions . . . in consideration whereof . . . I emancipate . . . Catin . . . with the condition that she shall . . . enjoy her freedom immediately after my death.' The children were born after the deed, but before the death of the grantor." The Court held: the mother was "of that class of persons known to the Roman law, by the application of *Statu Liberi*, . . . the children born from her, while in such a state, are not entitled to freedom." ¹⁹³

The child of a slave mother, who had acquired the right of future freedom, became free on the death of the mother. ¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Parish Judges, Book O, Parish of East Baton Rouge, No. 298, pp. 294-295.

¹⁹³ Catterall, *op. cit.*, III, 465.

¹⁹⁴ Goodell, *op. cit.*, 343.

The last will and testament was the legal instrument used by the slaveowner who desired to enjoy the services of his negroes during his life but wished to provide for their freedom, at his death, against being sold with his estate or separated from their homes or each other. John H. Russell gives the opinion that from the standpoint of proslavery men of the nineteenth century, manumission by last will and testament was the method most likely to be abused.¹⁹⁵

Many masters used this method of acknowledging their debt of gratitude for the long, patient, and faithful service of the slaves of their households. The will of William Inrufty, a resident of Avoyelles Parish, stated:

I desire that my faithful servant, Unity, who is a slave for life to me, who I raised and who had served me faithfully and honestly, should be set free and to that end, I will and give her her freedom and I will and give freedom to her child, George Washington. . . . I will and bequeath to said Unity all my household furniture, the stock marked in her brand, consisting of seven head of cattle, and my riding horse, saddle, and bridle.¹⁹⁶

"Edmund Ruffin, lamenting in 1859 the abuse of testamentary manumission of slave owners of 'sensitive or feeble minds, or morbidly tender consciences, . . . especially of wealthy old men and old women,' saw in the motives of such slaveowners a resemblance to motives appealed to by priests in the dark ages when inducing rich sinners to smooth and pay their future pass to Heaven."¹⁹⁷

Restrictions placed upon manumission resulted from suspicion and fear of a free negro class which it was felt had a tendency to make the slaves restless and insubordinate. Memories of atrocities in Jamaica and Santo Domingo, and unhappy experiences in individual cases, made the Southerner believe that the blacks must be kept wholly under his control. Severity in legislation extended to the free negro as well as to the slave. He seemed a serious menace because of his half-assimilated ideas of freedom and equality, his smattering of education and his consequent influence on the enslaved population.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Russell, *op. cit.*, 84.

¹⁹⁶ Alienations, Book F, Parish of Avoyelles, No. 2401, pp. 329-331. Recorded October 5, 1827.

¹⁹⁷ Russell, *op. cit.*, 85.

¹⁹⁸ Mesick, *op. cit.*, 126-127; Woodson, *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830*, xxviii-xxx.

E. N. Elliott in his pro-slavery argument, "Slavery in the Light of International Law," concluded that the natural position of the negro was one of subordination to the superior race. He emphasized the worthless efforts which had been made to elevate the negro in his own country. His development under the white race was liable to retrogression once the influence of the superior race was removed. The negro as a subordinate to the white man filled an important place in the economic sphere. He supplied a demand for labor, while his products not only clothed the civilized world but became the life blood of its commerce. The servile race lost its power when taken from the control of a higher intellect. Elliott felt that examples of free blacks emancipated in the West Indies, Sierra Leone, and in Liberia, were conclusive proof of this point. His views regarding the proper status of the negro were summarized by his statement, "It is manifest that the children of Ham were to be a servile race."¹⁰⁰

Louisiana felt it essential in 1830 to enact more stringent legislation. Acts of 1842 made more difficulties for the manumitted negro, particularly with reference to his entering and leaving the state. Heavy fines were imposed upon persons guilty of employing or boarding free colored persons who were in the state in violation of laws. The Legislature of 1852 passed an act entitled "Concerning the emancipation of slaves in this state." The act read:

Sec. 1. . . . That hereafter no slave or slaves shall be emancipated in this State, except upon express condition that when emancipated, they shall be sent out of the United States within twelve months after being emancipated, and that the police jurors of the several parishes of this state and the Common Council of New Orleans, before granting any act of emancipation of any slave or slaves, shall require the owner or owners, person or persons so desiring said emancipation, to deposit in the parish treasury in which said act is to be made, or to the mayor of the city of New Orleans, the sum of one hundred and fifty dollars for each slave to be so emancipated, to be applied in payment of voyage to Africa and support after arrival.

Sec. 2. . . . That all slaves whose claims for emancipation has [*sic*] not yet been perfected by the proper authorities, shall only receive the same upon the conditions of the first section of this act, and upon failing to comply with the

¹⁰⁰ E. N. Elliott, ed., *Cotton is King, and Pro-Slavery Arguments* (Augusta, Ga., 1860), 735-737.

same, shall be hired out by the owner or owners, person or persons having the legal charge of said slave or slaves, and in case none such exists, then the judge of the district shall appoint an agent for that purpose, who shall hire out said slave or slaves until the sum of one hundred and fifty dollars have been made and deposited as aforesaid, after which, the said act of emancipation may be perfected and said slave or slaves sent to Liberia within one year; Provided, that in case any slave or slaves, after having been so emancipated, should not be sent to Liberia within one year after being liberated, or should return again after being sent, said slave or slaves shall forfeit their freedom and become slaves and revert to their former owners or their legal representatives as such.

Sec. 3. . . . This act shall not take effect until six months from and after its passage.²⁰⁰

The New Orleans correspondent of the *New York Times* wrote under date of April 3, 1853:

Last year an act was passed, providing for the emancipation of slaves in this State by their owners, with the proviso, that no emancipated negro should have the privilege of remaining in the State, who was not liberated three months after the passage of the act. A number of slaves who had purchased themselves, and others who had been voluntarily emancipated by their masters, refused to take out their papers, as the three months had expired, and they would be forced to leave the State. In preference to leaving Louisiana for a Free State, they had rather remain here under a nominal Slavery; and they give as a reason, that they are better treated and respected in the South, and can make more money, than in the North!²⁰¹

The State Legislature in 1852 authorized the emancipation of a slave, Nanny, for meritorious services to her owner. The Act provided:

That the testamentary executor of the late William Adams junior, deceased, of the parish of Tensas, . . . are hereby authorized to carry into effect the will of said deceased by emancipating his slave Nanny for faithful and meritorious services rendered by her during the long and painful illness of her said master, any law to the contrary notwithstanding. Provided, however, that said slave shall leave the State of Louisiana within three months of her emancipation, never to return; and that in default of her compliance with this condition, this act shall not take effect.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ *Acts of Louisiana*, 1852, pp. 214-215.

²⁰¹ Olmsted, *op. cit.*, 636-637.

²⁰² *Acts of Louisiana*, 1852, p. 122.

In the same year legislation provided:

That the slaves Ben, aged fifty years, Clarissa, his wife, aged forty-eight years, and her child Edward, aged eighteen years, her child Susan, aged five years, and her child Mary, aged three years, late the property of Samuel Estelle, deceased, in the parish of Carroll, Louisiana, be, and they are hereby emancipated and set free for meritorious services rendered by said slaves to their said master, deceased; Provided, that said slaves shall leave the State of Louisiana within three months from such emancipation, never again to return; but if said slaves should not leave said State within said time, or shall return to said State at any time, then this act shall be null, and the slave or slaves not strictly complying with this act, shall become a slave again, as he or she or they now are.²⁰³

A study of manumission in Louisiana furnishes a great many peculiarities and discrepancies. This right of granting freedom to slaves was used indiscriminately by both whites and free negroes. The motives prompting manumission were equally diverse. Sometimes it was used as a reward for faithful services; sometimes it was a compensation for some meritorious performance, while in many cases it seemed to be a master's way of appeasing his conscience. The act of liberation occasionally provided for the freedom of an entire family. More frequently it applied only to an individual. Many records show that freedom granted by the master resulted from purchase. In cases where a free negro bought the liberty of his wife he usually looked upon her thereafter in the light of property. Though there are records showing that white owners manumitted all of their slaves at once, I have not found an example where this was true of the free negro slaveowner. A consideration which served to complicate the granting of manumission was the legal restriction. This resulted seemingly from the fear of the steadily increasing number of manumissions and the potential dangers involved.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION AND RELIGION OF THE FREE NEGRO

The education and religion of the free negro offer many interesting studies to those who trace their development. Distinct laws and customs governed both, and in many ways these people's participation in either was circumscribed and limited.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 198, 200. The State Legislature provided "That the heirs of the late Stefano Barabino be, and they are hereby authorized, by act before any notary public, in the parish of St. Mary, to emancipate Eloy Barabino, a slave belonging to the said heirs, and upon the execution of said act, the said Eloy be, and is hereby authorized to reside in this State."

The free negroes who came to New Orleans after the revolution in Santo Domingo were of a higher type than the ordinary negro. They spoke the French language and all were Catholics. Some educated their children in France, the northern states, or in private schools at home.

In most southern states teaching a slave or free negro to read or write was considered a crime. The punishment was imprisonment and a fine of five hundred dollars if the offender were white; fines and whippings if he were a slave or a free negro.²⁰⁴ This restriction, with corresponding punishment, prevailed in Georgia.²⁰⁵ Tennessee prohibited the teaching of free negroes to read or write.²⁰⁶ Any semblance of school was stopped and teachers and pupils were shipped. Some states did not permit them to have churches. Usually, restrictions against meetings did not apply to the "assembly of negroes for moral and spiritual uplift on Sundays." Georgia legislation provided:

Should a free negro presume to preach or exhort his companions, he may be seized without warrant, and whipped thirty-nine lashes, and the same number of lashes may be applied to each one of his congregation.²⁰⁷

Louisiana enacted legislation in 1850 to the effect that:

In no such case shall the provisions of this act [of 1847, entitled "An Act for the organization of certain corporations in this state,"] be construed to apply to free persons of color in this State incorporated for religious purposes or secret associations, and any corporations that may have been organized by such persons under this act, for religious purposes or secret associations are annulled and revoked.²⁰⁸

The *Daily Crescent* of October 2, 1848, contained the following article under the caption, "Unlawful Assemblage of Negroes":

For some time past the negroes of Faubourg Trémé, in the first municipality, have been holding meetings on the Sabbath, as is alleged for divine worship, in the public house on Villéré street, without legal permission. Occasionally white men have been seen mixing in these meetings—and the suspicion having been aroused that they might be incendiary characters, Lieut. Viut, one of the Trémé police, with one or two other officers, yesterday pounced upon the meeting, about

²⁰⁴ Mesick, *op. cit.*, 130-131.

²⁰⁵ Weatherford, *op. cit.*, 193.

²⁰⁶ Mesick, *op. cit.*, 130.

²⁰⁷ Weatherford, *op. cit.*, 193.

²⁰⁸ *Acts of Louisiana*, 1850, p. 179.

12 o'clock, as the preacher, a negro named Charles Dawty was in full blast crying, "De Lord be a coming, de Lord be coming, my bredren!"—and his hearers alternately contracting and elongating themselves like the man with the Indian rubber spine, were repeating his consoling assurance. Between fifty and sixty slaves and free negroes, and one white man were arrested in the house and marched to the parish jail.

The white man remained in prison until a late hour and the other suspects were released by friends or owners who gave security for their appearance to be examined. A report on the case given by this paper the following day alluded to three white persons arrested in the group. Sufficient evidence was lacking to prove that the meeting was for any other purpose than religious worship as the persons arrested were discharged—"no law existing to prevent mixed assemblys [*sic*] for that object." Five of the negroes involved, who did not have proper identification papers, were ordered to leave the state. The colored preacher "presented to the court his appointment by Bishop Quinns of Indiana to a deaconship in the 'African Methodist Episcopal Church of America,' dated the 18 August, 1848; and a license from the presiding Elder, Mr. S. W. Chance, of the Wesley Chapel in this city, to preach, dated the 19th August, 1846, and renewed the 19 December last. Recorder Genois, with the view, we understand, of having these meetings more under the supervision and within the control of the authorities, has sent the papers connected with this matter to the Attorney General in the expectation that he may induce legislative action on the subject."

In times of great fear of insurrection free negroes were restricted in assembling for religious purposes. Municipalities followed the example of the states in restricting this despised class. In a few such places as Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans strict laws governing free people of color were not always enforced. Influential white persons connected with this class of people by ties of blood often intervened between them and the law and provided for their home life, private education, and religious training. "In these cities the free negro sometimes enjoyed so many advantages that foreigners saw very little difference between their situation and that of the whites."²⁰⁰ In Louisiana were many of these mixed breeds. The father was usually eager to have his colored children educated in a manner that

²⁰⁰ Woodson, *Negro Makers of History*, 125.

would reflect honor upon himself. If a master were living in concubinage with a slave, he frequently gave her freedom before the birth of her children so that they would be free. This usually resulted in the father's providing for their education—the amount and kind depending upon his wealth.²¹⁰

There were no state schools in Louisiana for free negroes. Education was provided through private schools or institutions sponsored by religious organizations. The law tolerated these city private schools by a significant silence on the subject. Public opinion also tolerated them by a quasi encouragement and patronage. Under the old regime this was one of the delicate subjects with which people considered it wise not to interfere in advance. So the law held its power in reserve and while it placed heavy fines and punishments on those who taught slaves and kept a strict watch over the movements of free colored people, it refrained from going any further.

Many wealthy fathers provided for their children's education in white boarding schools of the North or in France. The number of colored Creoles who received an education abroad approximated two thousand. The quadroon girls constituted a large percentage of this group. Of the free negroes who studied in foreign countries, some became wholesale merchants in France; others were bankers, editors, musicians, and physicians. The law profession was so closely guarded that they were unable to practice before the courts. Many of these who chose to remain in France attained distinction in scientific, musical and literary circles. A member of the Lambert family of New Orleans, who was decorated by the King of Portugal, became a professor at Paris and composer of the famous *Si J'Etats Roi*, *L'Africaine*, and *La Somnambula*. In the same field Basile Borrès also achieved unusual fame. Edmond Dédé was sent to Paris in 1857 by some interested townspeople to complete his musical education. He became director of the orchestra of L'Alcazar in Bordeaux and a good friend of Gounod. Natives of New Orleans recall when he returned to Louisiana forty-six years later to play for his native city once more. "He was old, but not worn, nor bent, the fire of youth still flashed in his eye, and leaped along the bow of his violin." The list of famous musicians of the state included many free people of color. Victor Séjour, a native quadroon of New

²¹⁰ Willey, *loc. cit.*, XXXIII, 246.

Orleans, became private secretary to Louis Napoleon and a famous dramatic writer of Paris.²¹¹

Free colored people believed that the inferiority of condition necessarily attached to itself a lasting dishonor as the whites believed that color was a badge of an inferior race. This theory was illustrated by the following episode. A certain Mr. Bougville, who was considered a successful colored Creole teacher in New Orleans, related a story concerning a slave boy whose white father desired him to be educated in his school. The teacher accepted the pupil because the standing of the father in the community was a guarantee against legal proceedings. Objection soon came from the other pupils. They opposed the idea of a slave being taught in a room with them. Their parents would not tolerate such indignity. Mr. Bougville was forced to end the matter peacefully by dismissing the slave pupil and teaching him in his master's house.

The standard of respectability among free people of color contained many gradations of color. This was quite significant in regard to their schools. Some of the more fashionable private institutions admitted only those whose skin showed a large amount of Caucasian blood. "In others the grade was placed lower but the same principle was recognized; while the great majority of professors made the social condition of the parents the only criterion." Most of the schools were open to all who were born free and whose parents could pay the fee required. They were usually held in private houses without any external appearance indicative of their use. When there was any pretext for complaint the greatest care was taken to conceal this fact. The French Creoles were mostly Catholics, so this creed usually prevailed in their private schools. There is no knowledge that a religious test was required of pupils or patrons.²¹²

In the region of Opelousas and Washington (formerly called Niggerville because of the large number of free negroes living in the village) were many free people of color representing thrifty and prosperous planters. They owned some of the best cotton and sugar plantations on which were large, comfortable houses.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 246-247; King, *op. cit.*, 345; Alice Dunbar-Nelson, "People of Color in Louisiana", in *Journal of Negro History*, II (1917), 66; John T. Gaillard, *The Catholic Church and the American Negro* (Baltimore, 1929), 18. Mr. Trotter in his *Music and Some Musical People* records a number of families of free people of color whose music talent has become world-wide.

²¹² Willey, *loc. cit.*, XXXIII, 247-249.

Many of these received a liberal education. According to travellers who left interesting accounts of their observations of free blacks, it was not unusual to find that many of the well-to-do class were educated.²¹³ The Grimble Bell school for free colored children near Opelousas, usually enrolled about one hundred and twenty-five pupils and four teachers. Those attending the school were as a rule charged fifteen dollars a month for board and tuition. This institution continued its work for a number of years. After it closed, many of the youths of that section of the state were sent to private schools in New Orleans.²¹⁴

In Pointe Coupée Parish a large propertied class of free colored families usually provided for the education of their children by securing rooms in the principal houses and employing teachers for the entire year. Attendance at such schools necessitated the payment of a regular tuition fee. "For more than fifty years their schools have been kept open in this manner." The contrast in the literacy of the whites with that of the free blacks was startling. "Out of nearly two hundred colored families who were free before the war, only one family is unable to read and write while among the white people from twenty to thirty-five per cent are in ignorance."²¹⁵

There were numerous well-to-do educated free blacks in Natchitoches Parish along Cane River, Bayou Natchez, Bayou Snipe, Little River, and Red River. Large families lived at Natchitoches, Cloutierville, Isle Brevelle, and Campti. They were descended from the progeny of the old French and Spanish planters, noble and plebeian, and their negro slaves. Indian and Mexican blood also coursed through their veins. French blood predominated in the population of the Natchitoches region and this language was usually spoken. During a journey down Cane River, Olmsted learned from the captain of the boat, the *Dalman*, of a settlement of well-educated free people of color in the vicinity of Natchitoches. They spoke French among themselves but all were able to converse in English.²¹⁶

Education among these free negroes was prompted by the Catholic Church and included both religious instruction and training in the rudiments of learning. The first missionary work

²¹³ Olmsted, *op. cit.*, 639-641.

²¹⁴ Willey, *loc. cit.*, XXXIII, 248.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 249.

²¹⁶ Olmsted, *op. cit.*, 632-634; J. A. Baumgartner, "Isle Brevelle", 1.

among Catholics in Natchitoches Parish was done in 1717 by the venerable priest, Antonio Margil. He ministered alike to white, red, black, and mixed. Records relate that a certain Father Martin of Avoyelles attended his flock among the rivers and bayous in that section in 1829. In 1840 Reverend J. Timson, afterwards Bishop of Buffalo, did excellent religious work in that country. All of these pioneer missionaries labored under great adversities and trying circumstances. When the New Orleans Archdiocese was divided with the resultant formation of the Diocese of Natchitoches in 1852, the Reverend A. M. Martin was appointed its first bishop. He was a man of great vision, courage, and determination. His faith and zeal were bound up in the cause of religion. His consecration in 1853 marked the beginning of the actual history of the Parish of Isle Brevelle.

Cloutierville was founded with Isle Brevelle as one of its missions. A plan was soon formulated to give free negroes on Cane River and in the surrounding country religious instruction and spiritual care at regular intervals. A four-room building was erected for this purpose. One room served as a chapel where the priest from Cloutierville said Mass once or twice a month and instructed the people in the rudiments of religion. The rest of the structure was occupied by two sisters, Daughters of the Cross. "In this same building the good sisters taught Catechism and the three R's, but only to girls. The boys were instructed in a little shack by one or the other of the Canadian 'Instituteurs'." The instruction was given in French, for it was the language exclusively spoken there. Not long after this, probably in 1856, a building which served the dual role of school and convent was erected. Just previous to this, a wealthy quadroon planter and slaveowner, Augustin Metoyer (Grandpère Augustin), donated a plot of ground for a church, a rectory, and a cemetery. In 1856 Isle Brevelle was made a parish with a resident priest. Reverend F. Martin was the first to hold this appointment. During the Civil War when the "Yankees" marched through this country creating havoc and devastation, *les bonnes soeurs* left the place and never came back. Not until 1889 did the Sisters of Divine Providence undertake the arduous task of educating the young people of Isle Brevelle.²¹⁷

²¹⁷ Baumgartner, *op. cit.*, 1-4. The convent still stands. A new school, however, was built in 1915. The erection of a new church followed in the next year. In the cemetery back of the church may be seen the grave of Augustin Metoyer.

Various Catholic orders of religious organizations in New Orleans did much for the spiritual welfare and education of the free negroes there. In the Annals of the Ursuline Nuns we read:

In 1831 two of the religious of our community were sent to the establishment conducted by Miss Alliquot in order to keep a school for free colored children. This school was located on St. Claude Street and was maintained by the Ursulines until 1838.

According to the story recorded, Miss Jeanne Alliquot, a very charitable lady, dedicated her life to work among children, particularly negroes. When she was no longer physically able to carry on her responsibilities, Bishop Denekere confided her troubles to the Ursuline sisters. His distress appealed so keenly to them that they promised to add to their overburdened schedule the duties formerly assumed by this noble benefactress. "The Ursulines loved this work so dearly that the most distinguished and cultured among them esteemed themselves happy to be allowed to consecrate themselves to it." The boarding school was so successful and its growth so rapid that the religious were not sufficient in number to care for all of its problems. In 1837 this service to which they had become so strongly attached was given to other religious.²¹⁸

In 1842 in the zenith of the brilliant, unwholesome notoriety of the quadroon women, the Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Family was founded. Bishop Blanc of New Orleans, who was deeply concerned in the needs of colored people, together with Father Etienne Rousselon, his Vicar General, organized a community of colored sisters whose duty was to care for negro orphans and poor aged negroes.²¹⁹ Three young women of color, who descended from three of the oldest and most reputable free colored families in New Orleans, united with the resolve to use their lives for service. They dedicated themselves, their education, and wealth to the fostering of religion and charity. The group was soon joined by another young woman of good family and education. Mother Juliette was the eldest. We know little of the history or personality of these sisters, as they concealed facts relative to their lives. But we can see the great faith and courage manifested in the selection of this noble vocation. It called for untold perserverance in overcoming numerous obstacles

²¹⁸ "Notes from the Archives of the Ursuline Convent, New Orleans, Louisiana", 5-6.

²¹⁹ Gaillard, *op. cit.*, 30-31.

which confronted a work of such character. Their first establishment was an obscure one on the Bayou Road. A few years later they took charge of a home for old and infirm women; later they built a house on Bayou Road between Rampart and St. Claude streets. Now the community occupies the building once used for the famous quadroon balls. These Sisters of the Holy Family followed the rule of St. Augustine, the novitiate lasting two years and six months; vows were renewed every year until after ten years profession. Then they became perpetual.²²⁰

The first free school opened for colored children in the United States was the *École Des Orphelins Indigents* which was founded April 20, 1847. It became the largest Colored Creole school in New Orleans. This institution was under the patronage of the Catholic Society for the Instruction of Indigent Orphans (*Société Catholique pour l'Instruction des Orphelins dans l'Indigence*). The Widow Bernard Couvent, a free woman of color and native of Guinea, provided by will at her death in 1837 that the lot and buildings on the corner of Union and Greatmen streets were to be used as a school for colored orphans. Ten years later ten free men of color, residents of New Orleans, formed an organization "for the purpose of establishing and supporting one or more schools for the instruction of indigent orphan children of both sexes." This society had the power to own property and make laws and regulations for the discipline, education, health, and religious instruction of pupils. It further provided that when these children attained a certain age, the organization was authorized, with the consent of those in charge of the orphans, to bind them out to learn a useful trade or dispose of them according to the charitable purposes of the institution. Persons who contributed two dollars and forty cents annually were considered directors.²²¹ This school was aided by Aristide Mary, a well-to-do Creole of color who left five thousand dollars for its support, and by Thomy Lafon, a wealthy free man of color.²²² Before the occupation of New Orleans by Federal troops small appropriations were occasionally made by the state for the upkeep of this orphanage, but these sums were never sufficient to support

²²⁰ Dunbar-Nelson, *loc. cit.*, II, 65; King, *op. cit.*, 348-353. In 1881 the sisters bought the old Orleans Street ballroom. When they are asked "What were your means?" they answer simply: "Prayer and begging." Adjoining the ballroom was the Orleans Theatre. Many years after it burned, the sisters purchased the site. Today an orphan asylum fills the place. The new chapel for the convent and asylum was built from a legacy left the nuns by one of their own color and class, Thomy Lafon, a philanthropist who distributed his life's earnings, by will, indiscriminately among white and black, Protestant and Catholic.

²²¹ Dunbar-Nelson, *loc. cit.*, II, 66; Willey, *loc. cit.*, XXXIII, 248.

²²² Dunbar-Nelson, *loc. cit.*, II, 65.

it adequately.²²³ The institution has been in continuous existence. Many children, not orphans, are willing to pay a fee to obtain the thorough education which the school offers.²²⁴

The founding of the Christian Doctrine Society of New Orleans in March, 1818, was an event of unusual interest. The inspiration of this organization was Bishop Dubourg, a Capuchin Father attached to the Cathedral of St. Louis. The association was specially privileged by two Popes. Originally the society admitted only men to membership. About a half century later it included women also. It became very active and its membership at times approximated two hundred individuals. "The primary object of the society was promotion of the spiritual well-being of its members by the practice of good works and the development of Christian virtues. The second aim was to honor in a particular manner the Most Blessed Virgin Mary in her Immaculate Conception, and also to foster a particular devotion to St. Joseph and St. Louis. The third aim was to help all its members to walk in the path by virtue, aiding them to avoid all that is evil and offering them all possible aid and encouragement to progress in spiritual perfection;" the practical work adopted as the means of furthering this object was the evangelization and spiritual care of the negroes. The society was considered to have a great influence for good and it continued to be a very active organization until it ceased to function in the last few years.²²⁵

In 1859 John F. Cook went to New Orleans from St. Louis and organized a school for free children of color. This was at the time when discontent was prevalent in the South, when there was much talk of secession and war. Cook had violated laws by coming into the state and by opening a school for free children of color. He taught for a year. At the expiration of this time the schoolmaster left New Orleans as he had been warned that he was to be arrested and detained.²²⁶

An unusual character in the educational and religious life of the free negroes in New Orleans was the Reverend Walter Rogers, one of the most prominent colored pastors in that city. While he was serving in this capacity he published a small book (about fifty pages) of extracts from his sermons, Bible narra-

²²³ Willey, *loc. cit.*, XXXIII, 248.

²²⁴ Dunbar-Nelson, *loc. cit.*, II, 66.

²²⁵ Gaillard, *op. cit.*, 18-19.

²²⁶ Dunbar-Nelson, *loc. cit.*, II, 66.

tives, hymns, and religious meditations for the use of the Sunday School. *Rogers' Compositions* was published in 1850.²²⁷

A discussion of the free negro's religion would be incomplete without reference to the mysterious order of Voodooism. This form of worship did not originate with the free blacks, but many of its worshippers came from that class of negroes. The religion was the heritage of black Africa and the West Indies.²²⁸ Among African slaves there was always Voodoo superstition lying dormant, but in the early days of slavery there was little opportunity to practice the rites. Grace King claimed their formal introduction into New Orleans could be plausibly traced to the slaves who came from Santo Domingo. Paraphernalia and ceremonies were similar to descriptions of Voodoo meetings in the West Indies. She continued:

There was the same secrecy of place and meeting, the altar, serpent, and the official king and queen; the latter with much profusion of red in her dress, the oath to the serpent; a string of barbarous epithets and penalties, the suppliants to the serpent coming up, one by one, with their prayers, always ever for love or revenge, the king with his hand on the serpent, receiving from it the trembling of the body which he communicates to the queen, and which she passes on to all in the room; the trembling increasing to movement; the movement, to contortions of the body, convulsions, frenzy, ecstasies, the queen ever leading; the low humming song rising louder and louder; the dancers whirling around, faster and faster, screaming, waving their red handkerchiefs, tearing off their garments, biting their flesh, falling down delirious, exhausted, pell mell, blind, inebriated, in the hot dense darkness;—when the sheer lassitude of consciousness returns with daylight, retaining but one thing firmly fixed in their minds, the date of the next meeting.²²⁹

The *Daily Delta* of July 15, 1850, contained an account of the arrest by New Orleans police of persons attending a Voodoo assemblage. During the trial which followed, Betsey Toledano, an intelligent free woman of color, appeared as high priestess and chief speaker on the occasion. She contended that she had a perfect right to hold meetings of the Voodoo Society in her house—that the organization was a religious African institution, which had been transmitted to her through her grandmother, from

²²⁷ Willey, *loc. cit.*, XXXIII, 249.

²²⁸ King, *op. cit.*, 341; Saxon, *op. cit.*, 309.

²²⁹ King, *op. cit.*, 341-344.

the Ancient Congo Queens. She gloried in holding such an exalted position in an order so venerable as the order of the Voodooos. The paraphernalia which had been confiscated by the police at the time of the arrest, consisted of vessels containing pebbles, flint stones, shells, horsehair, curious aprons, vases filled with liquid, neither palatable nor of the odor of sanctity, and various other articles. The necklace of strange shells which Betsey wore, was all powerful in calling down rain on the parched earth, and the flint and pebbles were used for "taming and turning aside the fiery shafts of 'Heaven's artillery.'" A special object was to be used in cases of disease while another was potent in making affairs of the heart successful. The high priestess refused to divulge the secrets of some articles of her mysterious faith.²³⁰ A chief relic of reverence and veneration was a quaintly-carved wooden figure, resembling something between a Centaur and an Egyptian mummy. This was the Voodoo Virgin. Many devices were used to gain possession of it. The officer offered it for eight dollars and fifty cents. A young quadroom was the first to present the ransom. Hardly had she done so when several others of the colored sisterhood presented the stipulated sum and claimed the Voodoo Virgin.²³¹

An effort was made in the latter part of the nineteenth century to revive the annual Voodoo celebration on St. John's Eve, with nothing of the old ritual preserved but the dance. The attempt was rigidly suppressed by the police authorities.²³² This form of worship has not ceased to exist. Lyle Saxon in *Fabulous New Orleans* wrote, "Within the last year I have been an eyewitness to a secret Voodoo ceremony."

The rites of this weird religious service included the presentation of a series of articles which he described as:

a small bag, containing ashes, hair from a white horse's tail, salt and pepper and some crushed dried leaves; a box containing pecans which had been drilled with holes and in which feathers had been inserted; a bundle of feathers, wound around with dried grass.

He was instructed to throw all of them one at a time into the path of his pseudo rival. "The feather bouquet was to be placed,

²³⁰ *Daily Delta*, July 31, 1850.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, August 10, 1850. The court decided that the holder of the Virgin had the right to retain it.

²³² King, *op. cit.*, 344. "The last Voudou queen, dead within the decade, was still an object of popular terror and superstition, and there are yet secret dispensers in the city of Voudou magic; . . . and there is still more belief in Voudouism among ignorant blacks and whites than one likes to confess."

if possible in his pillow; the pecans upon his threshold." The climaxing feature of the performance was the drinking of gumbo, in which a snake had been cooked. When Saxon finally mustered enough courage to sip a little of the steaming mixture from a bowl, the participants in the Voodoo ceremony appeared satisfied. "Wite man all right," said a big negro who for the first time looked approvingly upon him.²³³

Limitations placed upon the free negro in education and religion by the South were results of fear which the average Southerner had of slaves and people of color. The constant dread of uprisings caused slaveowners to support stringent legislation to govern both slaves and free persons of color. This latter class was looked upon as dangerous because of its partly assimilated ideas of freedom, smattering of education, and consequent influence over slaves. Rigid regulations were not usually placed upon the free negro in the economic phase of his life. His independence in industry was remarkable.

CHAPTER V

OCCUPATION OF FREE NEGROES

Free negroes in the South were on the whole economically efficient. This is proved by the demand for them as laborers by persons who criticized them as vagabonds and lepers of society.²³⁴ The right of the free negro to transact business and to own property might have made it possible for him to make much more economic than civil or political progress had not various forces operated to the contrary. To reenforce the institution of slavery the economic privileges of this class of negroes were restricted during the reactionary period as a safeguard against servile insurrections. Most of the states restricted earnings and subsistence. There were statutes to prevent loafing and vagrancy. Children of indigent free negroes were apprenticed to mechanical trades in some of the states. If a free negro refused to work and became a public charge, there was usually some way of disposing of him. He might be sold into servitude for a certain period or into permanent slavery.²³⁵

Although there were frequent petitions for drastic deportation laws, the economic worth of Southern free negroes was at-

²³³ Saxon, *op. cit.*, 319-320.

²³⁴ Woodson, *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830*, xxxiii-xxxv.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, xxiii.

tested especially by the fact that states which contained many of them either did not enact such measures or declined to enforce legislation if enacted.

Georgia in 1808 provided for binding out free people of color roving about the country in idleness and dissipation. In 1828 that state prohibited their employment in the setting of type in printing offices. North Carolina enacted legislation in 1826 to restrict the right of free negroes to trade in certain articles and to peddle beyond their county without a license.²³⁶

Louisiana differed materially from other slave states in her attitude towards the economic rights of the free negro. She placed few restrictions upon his right to earn a livelihood and to compete with the white man in industry. The negro had resort to courts when a question of his property was involved. Legal transactions were carried on in the same manner by them as they were by the whites. The State Legislature of 1831 provided that:

All free negroes, mulattoes, or other free persons of color, who have not entered this state in violation of the laws, and who are permanent residents and owners of property therein, or who permanently reside therein and exercise a useful trade, and who have always conducted themselves in an orderly and respectful manner, . . . shall be permitted to depart from the state and to return thereto, as their business may require: *Provided however*, That this permission shall not extend to such person above mentioned, who shall go to or return from the West Indies.

The only other legal restriction which Louisiana placed upon occupations of the free negro dealt with the retailing of intoxicating liquors. An act of 1830 pertaining to this matter, read as follows:

No person in this State shall be permitted to obtain a license to retail spirituous liquors, or to keep a tippling house, or other house of public entertainment, without previously giving bond, with good and sufficient security, in the sum of five hundred dollars, payable to the governor of this State and his successors in office, which said bond shall be executed before the parish recorder, and be deposited in his office, and be conditioned in substance as follows: that the same shall be forfeited, and the amount thereof be recovered before any court of competent jurisdiction in this State, . . . should the principal in the bond contravene any one of the provisions of

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, xxv.

section 159 of this title in relation to slaves, or . . . keep a disorderly tippling house or other house of public entertainment, or . . . permit an assemblage of more than three slaves [not belonging to himself or in his employment] at the tippling house or other house of public entertainment kept by him, or at such other place as he may be in the act of retailing spirituous liquors at. The foregoing provision shall apply to the city of New Orleans in this sense only, that the amount of the bond for one thousand dollars, to be given to the mayor by every person wishing to obtain a license to keep a cabaret or grog shop by virtue of the third section of the ordinance of the City Council, approved the 28 of December, 1825, shall be forfeited in the same manner for every violation of the said sections . . . ; and for violations of the ordinances of the said City Council, relative to grog shops or cabarets, taverns, coffee-houses, billiard rooms and public boarding houses.

The provisions above applied to free persons of color as well as to whites. In addition to these regulations, the law required that free negroes obtain "the sanction of the public jury of the parish in which he or they shall desire to obtain a license to retail spirituous liquors, or to keep a tippling house or other house of public entertainment, or the sanction of the corporation where one exists, and within which it is designed to retail spirits, etc."²³⁷

Wealthy negroes were exceptions to the rule. Eugene Macarty's concubine was perhaps one of the wealthiest free persons of color in New Orleans. In the case, *Macarty et al. vs. Mandeville*, which arose under Article 1468 of the *Civil Code of Louisiana*,²³⁸ we learn that Eugene Macarty, who died in 1845, had lived with the defendant in open concubinage from 1796 until his death. She was in possession of a fortune which exceeded \$155,000. The property left by the deceased was estimated at approximately \$72,000. The record of the case showed that the defendant "received in 1799, a tract . . . three acres front and forty in depth on each side of the bayou." It continues, "and we think it clear that her family gave her money. . . . The defendant was for several years engaged in the dry goods business. . . . She purchased from the importers, and retailed her goods by her slaves and persons who sold for her She had a

²³⁷ Peirce, Taylor, and King, *op. cit.*, 528-529.

²³⁸ *Civil Code of Louisiana*, Article 1468. "Those who have lived together in open concubinage are . . . incapable of making to each other, . . . any donation of immovables, and . . . a donation of movables . . . cannot exceed one-tenth part of the whole value of the estate."

depot in the parish of Plaquemines, and her trade extended . . . even to Attakapas Witness says . . . [she] had an unlimited credit . . . she afterwards employed her means in discounting notes, in which she was aided by the experience of Macarty, . . . the property claimed by the plaintiffs appears to us to be in the bona fide possession of the defendant and exclusively so, without any established connection with the interest of the deceased."²³⁹ By 1830 some of the "gens de couleur libres" had reached such a degree of prosperity that they owned fine cotton and sugar plantations, with numerous slaves. The propertied class included Martin Donato of St. Landry Parish, Charles Roques, Marie Metoyer, and Jean Baptiste Augustin Metoyer of Natchitoches Parish.²⁴⁰

Some of the well-to-do free negroes educated their children in France as they had been educated. Those who chose to remain there attained, in numerous instances, recognition in the fields of science, music, and literature. In New Orleans they became musicians, merchants, moneylenders, and real estate brokers. The humbler classes were mechanics, shoemakers, barbers, tailors, carpenters, and upholsterers. Many of them were fine hunters who supplied the city with game. As tailors they were patronized by the elite to such an extent that "the Legoaisters, the Dumas', the Clovis', and Lacroix, acquired undivided fortunes of several hundred thousand dollars." A few of the free negroes who attained wealth attempted to settle in France where there was no prejudice against their class. In several instances the experiments proved unsatisfactory and they returned to Louisiana. When one showed surprise at such an event, they would reply with a smile, "It is hard for one who has once tasted the Mississippi to keep away from it."²⁴¹

Successions, bills of sale, and mortgage records prove that the free negro class in Louisiana included a significant number who were in comfortable circumstances. In Southern states most useful free negroes in urban communities belonged to the artisan class. Work in the mechanical arts was usually done by slaves. Free negroes served largely as barbers, coopers, carpenters, cabinetmakers, mechanics, bricklayers, wheelwrights, plasterers, tanners, shoemakers, blacksmiths, sawyers, wood dealers, draymen,

²³⁹ Catterall, *op. cit.*, III, 589.

²⁴⁰ See Chapters on "The Legal Status of the Free Negroes" and "Manumission of Slaves" for information relative to property holdings of these free people of color.

²⁴¹ King, *op. cit.*, 344-345.

hucksters, millers, gardeners, confectioners, bakers, fishermen, day laborers, attendants of persons, household servants, seamstresses, and laundresses. Few were merchants, musicians, and undertakers. Agricultural labor was furnished usually by slaves. Woodson says that the free negroes in the South, as a majority, had to be content with odd jobs and menial service in cities and towns of the largely non-slaveholding areas while the fortunate few served as mechanics and artisans.²⁴²

The movement to Liberia drained off a significant portion of the most progressive of the negro population. Most of those persons were selected because of initiative and talent. J. B. Jordan of New Orleans said in 1850, that several men of property in that city and Mobile were preparing to go. He was an accountant and in a year he expected to have \$1,300 in cash.²⁴³

In New Orleans there were one hundred and sixty-five free colored, or one in eleven, engaged as clerks, doctors, druggists, merchants, musicians, students, or other similar pursuits which may be considered as requiring education. Of this group, nearly all were mulattoes. The proportion of blacks to the whole number of free negroes was less than one-fifth. In Louisiana the number engaged in occupations requiring education was one hundred and eighty-five or one in twelve of the entire group of free blacks.²⁴⁴

Free quadroon women of middle age were often in easy circumstances. They were represented in many vocations. It was not uncommon for them to own their own slaves, who brought them comfortable incomes from their work as hairdressers, washerwomen, and seamstresses. Free negro women were often skilled in needlework and some of them became important modistes, who planned the gowns of the elegant white ladies. One of their specialties was the making of fine linen shirts worn by the gentlemen of that day, for which they were paid two and one-half dollars apiece. The quadroon women seem to have had a monopoly on the renting of high-priced rooms to white gentlemen. No one could have been more eager to please their tenants. "These rooms, with their large post bedsteads, immaculate linen and snowy mosquito bars, were models of cleanliness and comfort. In the morning the nicest cup of hot coffee was brought to the

²⁴² Woodson, *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830*, xxxv-xxxvii.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, xli-xlii.

²⁴⁴ Appendix E, "Occupations of Free Colored in New Orleans, 1854."

bedside; in the evening, at the foot of the bed, there stood the never failing tub of fresh water with sweet-smelling towels." If their tenants became ill, the old quadroons, and under their directions, the young ones, were splendid nurses. Among these who came from Santo Domingo were many who became expert in the treatment of yellow fever.²⁴⁵

A picturesque figure among the fencing masters was Bastile Croquere, a mulatto. Not only was he noted for prowess in crossing swords, but he was considered one of the handsomest men in New Orleans at that time. Croquere was a great dandy. He presented an interesting figure as he walked down the street in his green broadcloth suit, with spotless linen and the widest of black stocks around his neck. He became famous for his collection of cameos. "He wore cameo rings, breast pin, and even a cameo bracelet." His skill with the sword was phenomenal. He was considered such an excellent teacher that Creole gentlemen of the finest families went to him for instruction. Despite the prejudice against "men of color," his *salle d'Armes* was crowded. The Creole gentry did not hesitate to cross swords with him in private assaults.²⁴⁶

Another unique character of that city was Elizabeth or "Zabet Philosophe," who was as much a part of the *Vieux Carré* as the Cabildo. She had been freed by her mistress, the wife of one of Bienville's officers. Since then she made her living as hairdresser to the aristocratic ladies in the city. No Frenchman in the community suffered more than she did at the time the French flag was lowered to the American. When she learned that all white men were free and equal, she ceased to be a menial, and began selling pralines on the steps of the Cathedral or under the porch of the Cabildo, where she could see her friends, the judges and lawyers as they passed on their way to court. They seldom failed to loiter around her tray to provoke from her the shrewd comments, piquant stories, and picturesque tales, which won her the surname of "Philosophe." She could neither read nor write, but she spoke pure, elegant French, as the court of the Grand Monarque did, by ear, and to her blue-blooded patrons she used her best language and all the high-flown courtesy of the

²⁴⁵ King, *op. cit.*, 347.

²⁴⁶ Saxon, *op. cit.*, 191-192. The house where Croquere lived still stands. It is located at the corner of Exchange Alley and Conti Street, opposite the south door of the New Orleans Court House.

old regime. Common customers she treated with careless indifference.²⁴⁷

Evidence from various sources tends to show that wherever free negroes had an opportunity in the South, they formed a permanent attachment to things economic to enable their group to be more sufficient unto itself. The right to trade and own property might have provided them means to make greater economic progress had not numerous forces operated against them. The economic rights of free people of color were restricted during the reactionary period because of the fear of servile insurrection. In the field of agriculture they had to compete with odd jobs and menial service. Another restriction was that of locomotion. Louisiana provided exceptions to permanent residents or property owners, who carried on useful trades. Finally in 1852, a law was passed which forced a manumitted slave to leave the state within three months after the act of liberation unless the Legislature granted him a permit to remain. Despite these restrictions, many free negroes became efficient. A few gained wealth. By using what limited opportunities they had, some of the people of color accomplished what might be considered exceptional.

SUMMARY

The free negro in ante-bellum Louisiana presented a definite problem in legal, economic, moral, and social phases. The gradual increase of this class from 1,500 in 1788 to 18,647 in 1860 was a significant factor with which to reckon. A group of quadroons grew up with alarming rapidity. Frequently they were endowed with superior mental qualities and ambitions impossible to the pure negro. They formed a society of their own, a society neither white nor black but between the two. While the whites were superior to them, they in turn were superior to the blacks and objected just as strenuously to associating with them as the whites objected to mingling with free negroes. Many of these quadroons demanded a place in the civilization of the whites. To the men of this class only positions of inferiority were usually open. Discontent was the result, and when trouble arose between slaves and masters, it was invariably fomented by this group. The women were the source of a more serious danger. They despised

²⁴⁷ King, *op. cit.*, 339-340. General Jackson in 1815 shook hands with her and gave her a dollar. She was very pious at that time, but tradition hinted that she had not been pre-eminently so when she was young. If one reminded her of this she laughed, and asked, "Why not? Pleasure and balls when one is young, church and prayer when one is old; that's my philosophy."

the negro as an inferior. Many of them regarded alliances with men of their own class as limiting.

Marriage between free people of color and whites was forbidden by law and condemned by the instinct and sentiment of a majority of the people. This situation resulted in concubinage. The disintegrating influence of the quadroon woman worked insidious destruction. She was the product of the lust and weaknesses of two races. The danger from free people of color and from the white man who was copartner with them, was recognized in Louisiana long before the abolition agitation began in the North. The best minds were directed against it. The inhabitants were at times so apprehensive of the evil that the State Legislature was once almost at the point of inflicting indiscriminate banishment upon all free people of color.

The first laws dealing with the status of Africans in Louisiana recognized the free negro much as they did the slave. His legal status was unique. He was free by legal intent yet he was denied many rights which characterized the estate of a free man. There was, with the exception of political rights, certain social privileges, and the obligation of jury and militia service, all the difference between a free man of color and a slave that there was between a white man and a slave. The free negro was capable of contracting. He could acquire by inheritance and transmit property by will. He was a competent witness in all civil suits. The free negro was tried with the same tribunal as the white man. The courts allowed him to testify in prosecutions where the defendants were white persons. The common law right to own and transfer property suffered fewer limitations in the free negro's possession than any other rights generally regarded as fundamental to a free status.

Free colored persons formed a class of superior ability and education. Many of them became useful citizens. Some owned large plantations and numerous slaves. Occasionally they amassed fortunes as moneylenders or in mercantile business.

Many phases of activity in the economic field were open to free people of color. They were represented in practically all vocations, many of which required some education. The economic worth of this class is attested by the failure to enforce laws compelling their deportation.

Louisiana provided no state schools for free negroes. Education was secured through private schools or institutions sponsored by religious organizations. The law tolerated these city private schools by a significant silence on the subject. Public opinion also tolerated them by quasi encouragement and patronage. Very often white fathers provided education for their mulatto children.

The law prohibited free negroes from incorporating for religious purposes. However, there was no restriction placed upon negro religious assemblies where whites were included.

The comparison of the status of the free negro in Louisiana with the status of that class of blacks in other Southern slave states gives evidence that the legislation and jurisprudence of Louisiana upon the subject of free people of color differed materially from those of the slave states generally. The rights of colored people to freedom under the laws were generally maintained with great energy in Louisiana. Suits to recover freedom were nowhere else so common and nowhere else so successful. Laws governing free negroes were not always enforced. Influential white persons, connected with this class of people by ties of blood, often intervened between them and the law and provided for their home life, private education, and religious instruction. We are to remember, in connection with the conditions in Louisiana, that a general characteristic of French and Spanish colonists has been that they have commonly recognized and provided for the wives taken from among native women, negro, Indian, or any other nationality, and that they have acknowledged and provided for their children; while the Anglo-Saxon usually leaves the women and children to shift for themselves.

"More about the people of color in Louisiana might be written. It is a theme too large to be treated save by a master hand. It is interwoven with the poetry, the romance, the glamour, the commercial prosperity, the financial ruin, the rise and fall of the state. It is hung about with garlands like the garlands on All Saints' Day; it may be celebrated in song, or jeered at in charivaris. . . . There is no state in the Union, hardly any spot of like size on the globe, where the man of color has lived so intensely, made so much progress, been of such historical importance and yet about whom so little is known. His history is

the Mardi Gras of the City of New Orleans, beautiful and mysterious and wonderful, but with a serious thought underlying it all. May it be better known to the world some day."

GLOSSARY

All Saints: A festival of the Church, occurring November 1, in commemoration of all saints and martyrs. The ceremony includes the placing of flowers on graves in the cemeteries.

Banquette: A Creole word applied to sidewalks in New Orleans. It was the custom in the early days of New Orleans to build four houses to a city square. Each house was set in a garden surrounded by a high picket fence. The square was enclosed by a deep ditch, and the sidewalk between the fence and the ditch was known as a *banquette*. They consisted of great planks, usually gunwales from broken flatboats fastened flat in the mud. Later *banquettes* were made of brick. In many places they were protected from rain and sun by overhanging balconies.

Bayou: A sluggish watercourse or outlet to a lake. It is a corrupt form of the old French word "boyau", a gut or narrow passage.

Bossal: A negro slave in Louisiana who had been born in Africa.

Café au lait: Coffee and milk.

Café noir: Black coffee.

Cajun: A reputed descendant of the Acadian French who came to Louisiana after the British occupied Acadia.

Cajun French: Language spoken in the outlying districts of Louisiana.

Calalou: A Santo Domingan hash.

Crawfish bisque: A delicious thick soup made from the crawfish. The heads are stuffed with the highly seasoned meat from the crawfish tails and a few are served in each plate. The inexperienced person finds difficulty in extracting the meat from the shell.

Cordon bleu: A Louisiana name applied to a very light-colored person of mixed blood, who was well educated and whose white father was of excellent family. The *cordon bleu* balls in New Orleans became famous. The deities of these entertainments were the quadroon women.

Creole: A person of European parentage born in a French or Spanish colony. Erroneously referred to as one of colored blood. In New Orleans the word designates those of French or Spanish descent or of a mixed descent. One reason for the term Creole being misunderstood is due to the fact that the slaves spoke a Creole dialect bearing about the same relation to pure French as the Southern negro talk bears to English purely spoken.

Dans le temps: In the old days.

Émigrés: Usually applied to immigrants from France and the West Indies. In 1791 an insurrection of negroes broke out in Santo Domingo and many people of wealth and distinction became *émigrés* to New Orleans. This was a highly cultured, brilliant group of men and women and they brought with them their civilization. They soon formed a society of their own and exerted an influence in the social life of the city.

Garce: Woman of pleasure.

Gens de couleur: People of color. During the ancient regime in Louisiana the pure-blooded African was never called colored, but negro. The *gens de couleur* were a distinct class and superior to the negro, ennobled, were it only by one drop of white blood in their veins. To the whites, all Africans who were not of pure blood were *gens de couleur*.

Gens de couleur libres: Free people of color. The appearance of this class of people in Louisiana was coincident with the coming of the *gens de couleur*. A large influx of free negroes came to New Orleans with the white and slave immigrations from the West Indies. Like the white *émigrés*, they brought in customs of a different civilization. In comparison with the free colored people of New Orleans, they represented a distinct variety.

Gombo filé: Choctaw Indians gathered leaves of sassafras when they were green and tender. They pounded them to a powder after they had dried them. The squaws sold the product in the French Market in New Orleans. It was called *filé*. It was used to thicken the soup or *gombo* (*gumbo*) made of fowl, and oysters or other seafood, highly seasoned. A small portion of *filé* was added to the mixture just before it was removed from the stove, and it was served with rice.

Gris gris: Object of stone, metal, bone, paper, or wood worn by superstitious negroes as a protection against witchcraft, bad

luck, crime, etc. The use of *gris gris* was emphasized in the practice of Voodooism.

Gumbo French: French spoken incorrectly. A sort of patois.

Jambalaya: A Spanish dish, made of rice, chicken, ham, and sausage, all cooked together and seasoned highly.

Lagniappe: A trifling article given to a purchaser in shops or markets to encourage customers.

Les Sirènes: Mistresses of Santo Domingan planters. When, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the best Santo Domingan families had fled from the slave revolution to take refuge in New Orleans, accompanied by their *sang mêlée* mistresses, many of them had only one sixty-fourth part negro blood. These women were called *Les Sirènes*.

Loges pour personnes de couleur: Theatre seats reserved for colored people only. Usually the upper tier of boxes was appropriated to them.

Mardi Gras: Literally, "fat Tuesday". Carnival celebrated the Tuesday before Ash Wednesday which marks the beginning of Lent, a time of fast and abstinence.

Ma mère: Grandmother.

Na nainne: A woman who becomes a Godmother through baptism.

Parain: A man who becomes a Godfather through baptism.

Pirogue: A small boat made from a large tree trunk hollowed out. It is more difficult to manage than a canoe as the slightest jar is sufficient to upset it.

Placer; placée: Literally, "to place," but in Louisiana it has a special significance. In that state there were many women who had only a small trace of negro blood. Many were very attractive and some were well educated and refined. They were too white to marry negroes, and public sentiment, backed by strict legislation against miscegenation, made it impossible for them to marry white men. This situation resulted in their becoming mistresses of white men. The man made all arrangements with the mother of the girl and paid an agreed amount which would serve to take care of her in the event he died or deserted her. When all details had been completed, the girl gave a party to her friends—

a sort of engagement entertainment, after which she went to live with the man. This was called being *placée* or placed.

Sang m  l  e: A woman of mixed blood.

Sauce piquante: A pungent sauce.

"The Oaks": The duelling oaks in New Orleans City Park. Duels became famous during the 1830's when Creole gentlemen used this method to settle disputes. Many challenges resulted from the famous *cordon bleu* balls, the deities of which were the quadroom women.

Tignon: Head handkerchief used by negresses. It was usually a large square of bright cotton material, perhaps madras, and used as a tie around their heads. Governor Miro, in 1788, passed an ordinance which prohibited free women of color from using any head covering but the *tignon*.

Ti n  gre: Gumbo French for "little nigger".

Une demi-tasse: A small cup of black coffee.

Vieux Carr  : Literally, "old square," the old square which constituted the walled city of Nouvelle Orleans. There one will find the lingering charm of the Old World, that remnant of a bygone culture which is unique in America.

Voodoo (Voudou): Snake worship. Heritage of black Africa and the West Indies. The formal introduction into New Orleans of the rites of Voodooism can be plausibly traced to the immigrant Santo Domingan slaves. Accessories and ceremonies followed the description given of Voodoo meetings in those islands.

APPENDIX A

CENSUS REPORTS ON NEGRO POPULATION IN
IN LOUISIANA, 1810-1860²⁴⁸*Colored population of Louisiana, 1810-1860*

<i>Census</i>	<i>Free Colored</i>	<i>Slave Colored</i>
1810	7,585	34,660
1820	10,476	69,064
1830	16,710	109,588
1840	25,502	168,452
1850	17,462	244,809
1860	18,647	331,726

Nativity of free colored population of Louisiana, 1850

<i>Where born</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
In the state	6,821	8,381
Out of the state but in U.S.	387	892
In foreign countries	238	687
Unknown	33	23

²⁴⁸ Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population, 1790-1915* (Washington, 1918); *Statistical View of the United States* (Washington, 1854), 62; *Report of the Census of the State of Louisiana, 1859*, pp. 5-7. The decrease in free people of color in Louisiana, shown in the table of 1850, was estimated by the state census. It seemed to have been chiefly in New Orleans where the decline was 9,321 since 1840, or approximately one-half. The Third Municipality alone dropped from 8,704 in 1840 to 3,524 in 1850, or nearly two-thirds. The average number of colored persons to a family in the Third Municipality in 1840 was ten and one-half; in 1850 the average number was only five and one-seventh. The difference was attributed to errors or the probability that free colored persons were counted in the white columns; the figures for 1840 did not show an increase of whites in this municipality.

Free colored population of New Orleans, 1850

<i>Where born</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Mulattoes</i>	<i>Total</i>
In the state	1,303	6,820	8,123
In other states or foreign countries	600	1,238	1,838

Distribution of Free Negroes in Louisiana, 1859

<i>Parishes</i>	<i>Free Negroes</i>	<i>Parishes</i>	<i>Free Negroes</i>
Plaquemines	695	Point Coupée	742
St. Bernard	63	West Feliciana	68
Orleans, Right Bank...	275	East Feliciana	46
1st. Rep. District	286	St. Helena	8
2d. " " .....	...	Washington	10
3d. " " .....	...	St. Tammany .....	...
4th " "	951	Livingston	7
5th " "	1,182	East Baton Rouge.....	429
6th " "	969	West Baton Rouge.....	148
7th " "	2,983	Iberville	205
8th " "	726	Vermilion	19
9th " "	168	Lafayette	249
10th " "	349	Calcasieu	353
Jefferson	466	St. Landry	1,596
St. Charles	129	Rapides	234
St. John	320	Sabine .....	...
St. James	119	Natchitoches	775
Ascension	286	Winn	37
Assumption	82	De Soto	29
Lafourche	135	Caddo	58
Terrebonne	146	Bossier	11
St. Mary	513	Claiborne	6
St. Martin	815	Bienville	3
Avoyelles	127	Jackson	1
Catahoula	47	Union	5
Carroll	5	Morehouse	14
Madison .....	...	Ouachita	32
Tensas	7	Caldwell .....	...
Concordia	11	Franklin .....	...

 Total 16,586

APPENDIX B

INVENTORY AND APPRAISAL OF PROPERTY BELONGING TO THE
SUCCESSION OF

JEAN BAPTISTE AUGUSTIN METOYER, FILS, F.M.C.

FILED OCTOBER 19, 1854.²⁴⁹

Metoyer died intestate, leaving a large amount of property. Part of it was held in community with his wife, Suzette Anty, f.w.c., and part belonged to him in separate ownership. The estate was given the following appraisal:

Community Property

Total amount of movable property.....	\$ 6,324.54
Total amount of slave property.....	29,700.00
(Slaves numbered thirty-seven. There were seventeen slave children in addition.)	
Total amount of immovable property....	9,473.50
<hr/>	
Total amount of property in mortgages, notes, and accounts.....	19,490.20 $\frac{1}{3}$
Total amount of community property.....	\$64,988.24 $\frac{1}{3}$

Separate Property

Total amount of movable property.....	\$ 1,209.34
Total amount of slave property.....	1,300.00
(Slaves numbered two.)	
Total amount of immovable property....	17,005.43
(Plantation on both sides of Red River at Isle Brevelle, Natchi- toches Parish)	
Total amount of separate property.....	19,514.77
<hr/>	
Total amount of community and separate property	\$84,503.01 $\frac{1}{3}$

Property Sold at Public Auction

Sale of land and slaves held in community.....	\$40,595.00
Sale of movable property held in community.....	3,900.00
Sale of land and slaves held in separate ownership	17,970.00
<hr/>	
Total amount of property sold at public auction....	\$62,465.90

²⁴⁹ Succession Record, Book 24, Parish of Natchitoches, No. 896, pp. 394-443.

Note: Suzette Anty filed petition asking that she be allowed to serve as natural tutrix of her two minor children, Suzette and Tranquillin. The marriage contract of Jean Baptiste Augustin Metoyer and Suzette Anty was filed June 7, 1815. She gave her name first as Suzanne Metoyer, but she stated later that her real name was Suzette Anty.

APPENDIX C

INTERESTING FACTS CONCERNING JOHN McDONOGH

(DECEMBER 29, 1779-OCTOBER 26, 1850)²⁵⁰

John McDonogh, merchant and philanthropist, was born in Baltimore, Maryland. He was the son of John and Elizabeth (Wilkins) McDonogh. He was of Scotch-Irish stock, descended from ancestors who settled in York County, Pennsylvania, in the early part of the eighteenth century.

His father moved to Baltimore several years before the son's birth. The boy was given a business education in the mercantile house of William Taylor, who carried on extensive trade with Europe, the West Indies, and South America. At the age of twenty-one he was sent by Taylor on a vessel to Liverpool with instructions to load the ship for her return "with merchandise suitable for Louisiana and to proceed to New Orleans." McDonogh continued for several years to act as his agent in receiving consignments. At length he began business on his own account. With rapid expanse of trade at this port, influenced by the purchase of Louisiana, he became very successful. About this time he began to put his capital into West Florida and Louisiana lands, and in 1806 he retired from mercantile business to attend to his properties. His holdings gradually increased until they became enormous. In ten years he had made his fortune.

Private affairs consumed most of his time; however, he was in 1806, elected a director of the Louisiana Bank. He took part in Jackson's defense of New Orleans against the invasion of the British and was enrolled in a volunteer corps, called "Beale's Rifles". In 1818 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate.

In 1817 McDonogh gave up his large establishment and his participation in the gaiety of New Orleans and moved to one of

²⁵⁰ Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 19; King, *op. cit.*, 361-363; Kendall, *loc. cit.*, XV, 647-650; Swearingen, *loc. cit.*, XIX, 348-350.

his plantations across the Mississippi River. This sudden departure served as the basis of endless tales of unrequited love. The real reason for his removal was perhaps not at all romantic. It was the result of a growing absorption in business, the decay of interest in social affairs of New Orleans, and the instruction of his physician. "He was a self-contained man, and his retirement deepened until, in the popular imagination, he became the miser millionaire, eccentric, parsimonious, and unsociable." Contrary to the general opinion, he was a benevolent man whose thoughts were absorbed in various philanthropic enterprises. One was a scheme for emancipating his slaves. McDonogh was not an abolitionist. He purchased more slaves when the freed negroes were sent to Liberia. He did not favor slavery but he thought the two races could not live together. In his later years he formulated a plan for the education of the youth of New Orleans and Baltimore. He provided in his will that his large properties should be used for that purpose. Unfortunately the lands were overvalued. Despite the mismanagement of the money, and the depreciation in value of the property caused by the Civil War, enough was saved to found schools in New Orleans and an industrial school near Baltimore which bears his name.

APPENDIX D

LETTER OF JOHN McDONOGH TO REVEREND R. R. GURLEY²⁵¹

New Orleans, June 10, 1850.

Dear Sir: A thousand thanks for your goodness in giving me the pleasing information you have communicated in your letter of the 6th March last, in relation to Liberia, and her prospects in general, and to the people, who in the providence of God, I had some little instrumentality in assisting to reach their fatherland, in particular. . . . I heard of your departure for Africa, and your return to your native land, with feelings of great satisfaction and joy, knowing that the grand object of your existence on earth (like your prototype, St. Paul) was the honor of God, and, consequently, the benefit and salvation of your fellow men; and that wherever you moved, His honor and glory would be promoted by you.

Your opinion of Liberia, and her prospects, filled my heart with joy; and I agree fully with you, sir, "that the scheme of

²⁵¹ *Daily Delta*, August 30, 1850.

African colonization is one of vast beneficence, meriting the earnest and liberal support of the whole American people;" and that Liberia will, as you observe, attract to her bosom a large portion of free colored population of our country. She must also receive in time, and that time is not far distant, the slave population of the South, manumitted and sent to their fatherland by their owners. God in his mercy, is preparing the means and the way. A few years more, and white labor in our country (from the natural as well as foreign increase of our population) will be as cheap as it is now in France and Italy. Moreover, that is the case . . . the slave holder will not retain his slaves, will not agree to keep and support them, but will drive them away, as white labor will then cost less than it would require to feed, clothe, and lodge his slaves; besides being in other ways more profitable.

The account you give me, sir, of the moral and religious character of those people whom I assisted to get to Liberia, and of their happiness and prosperity there, affords me great joy. My first great object in assisting them to reach that Country, was the honor of our Lord and Master. To that end I strove to instruct and prepare them, through a long series of years, day and night, and had them instructed in the knowledge of Him and his righteous law. To know, then, sir, that they are laboring in his divine cause, with a holy and pious zeal, fills my soul with delight and thoughtfulness to Him, the glorious author of all.

Can you inform me, sir, how and why it is that the Missionary societies of our country look with apathy or coldness . . . on that vast field of labor, which is white for the reaping, heathen Africa, and send no helping hand, no laborers to the harvest? Why, sir, are they not engaged in educating and preparing hundreds, and thousands even, if possible, of pious black and colored men for the ministry, for the African field, seeing that the climate is fatal to the white man? Were seminaries established, for that purpose, where the black and colored man could be educated for the ministry, and supported free of expense, and advertisement thereof made, I doubt not hundreds would respond to the call, in a cause the most glorious of earth.

Will the Government of the U. S. do nothing in the way of an appropriation of money—say, a half million of dollars annually, during ten or twenty years—to assist in transporting the free black and colored population of the United States to their fatherland?

The time, I should think, was a favorable one for pressing the subject on the attention of Congress, more especially, as that great, virtuous, and good man, Gen. Taylor, (who, without any information or knowledge of his opinions or views on the subject, I doubt not is favorably disposed towards it—for his heart is the seat of every noble, every benevolent affection,) is in the Presidency. . . . A special message on the subject to Congress, from the President, recommending at the same time, the independence of the Liberian Republic, and the forming of a commercial treaty with her, would, I have no doubt, be acceded to by that body, and a law passed in conformity.

I perceive, sir, in your interesting address, delivered before the New York State Colonization Society lately, and before the A. C. S. on the 15 Jan. last, in Washington, that you advocate as a form of government best suited for Liberia, that of a consolidated republic in preference to a federal one, or union of States. You will excuse me, sir, if I mention this—it is not done to express an opinion, but merely to express my fears. The object of you and myself is the same—the happiness and prosperity of that people. You have reflected on the subject, and studied the people—their position and situation; I have not. But, as you observe sir, she is destined to become a powerful nation, and to extend her sway over a great portion of that continent. In her present state of weakness, and for a length of time to come, no doubt the most simple form for her would be consolidation; but in time, when her limits will be greatly extended by annexation, and her population increased by millions, and tens of millions, . . . would it not be found necessary, to satisfy her ambitious men, to have other high posts of honor, such as we possess in our different State Governments, of Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, State Senators, Representatives, etc., etc., or would not their Consolidated Government be driven, to the alternative of keeping up large standing armies, with all their certain and inevitable dangers? I have been taught to believe that the safety and perpetuity of our glorious republic depended (upon God) upon our federative system, the honors of our State Governments acting as escape pipes for the high steam of our ambitious men to go off by and evaporate without endangering the body politic. You, sir, who have studied man as he is, and reflected much and deeply on the subject, do you believe that our happy republic would have descended from our revolution to the

present day under a consolidated form, without shocks, attempts at revolution, or a large standing army?

With every wish for your health and happiness, and that of your family, I am, sir, with great respect,

Your friend and obedient servant,

JOHN McDONOGH.

To the Rev. R. R. Gurley.

APPENDIX E

SUCCESSION OF VINCENT SEBASTIAN PINTADO²⁵²

Petition of Rodriguez Delande and Celeste Delande, residents of East Baton Rouge Parish, and of Tony Delande resident of the Parish of West Feliciana, f.p.c., represent that the succession or Vincent Sebastian Pintado is indebted to them, in the sum of \$6,097.52 for this to wit: their mother, Marie José Delande lived with the said Pintado as his concubine for the space of about thirty-five years and that during said period by their joint labor they accumulated considerable property—that the petitioners were the fruit of the connection existing between their mother and the said Pintado—that about twenty years since, the said Pintado left his plantation and slaves in the Parish of East Baton Rouge, where petitioners' mother then resided with him, in his care—that he never returned to this state, but continued in foreign parts for about twenty years until his death—that for this term of at least twenty years the petitioners' mother remained in quiet possession of the said plantation and the slaves thereon, acting as the guardian of the property, paying the taxes and doing all other acts necessary and proper . . . during his absence—that she and your petitioners labored on the said plantation for the support of themselves and for the purpose of keeping it in repair until his return. That for their joint labor in keeping up the levies [*sic*], roads, and fences they think they are justly entitled to charge the succession of said Pintado at the rate of \$300 per annum and which they consider very reasonable and moderate—that there was but one slave on the plantation able to do work and that it was only by their mutual and general labor, care, and attention, that they were enabled to sustain the natural charge of the place and prevent it from going to ruin—that during the absence of the said Pintado from the states, the petitioners and their mother have contributed

²⁵² Succession of Vincent Sebastian Pintado, No. 289, Pro. O. S., No. 2, Parish of East Baton Rouge. Filed October 1, 1831.

to keep up the levies [*sic*], fences, and ditches, paid the taxes and done all other acts that guardians are authorized to do in similar situations—that in right of their mother, as her natural children, and in their own right they claim compensation for their care and trouble as more fully set forth in the account annexed and under part of this petition.

Petitioners represent that Diego E. Pintado of the Parish of East Baton Rouge, has been appointed curator of the absent heirs of the said Vincent L. Pintado, deceased, and that the account was duly presented to him for payment and refused, Petitioners pray that the said Diego E. Pintado may be cited to answer this petition . . . succession of their mother Marie Delande for the sum of \$6,097.52 and costs of suit and for general relief.

Sum asked for during absence which began January A. D. 1810, ending January A. D. 1831,

@ \$300 per. yr.....	\$6000.00
State and Parish taxes.....	97.52

Paid by Marie Delande..... 6097.52
during—time on the plantation and slaves
of the said Pintado.

Diego E. Pintado, resident of East Baton Rouge, denied the facts set forth in the petition of plaintiffs except . . . residence of Marie José Delande on plantation started 1806 (period when Vincent Sebastian Pintado went to live in Cuba) and continued until latter end of March in 1831, when he died. The property sold in June 1831 as the property of his succession. Respondent demands that judgment be rendered against plaintiff and in favor of petitioner as curator of absent heirs for the sum of \$7,583 with costs of suit.

The decision provided that the "law and evidence are against the Plaintiffs and in favor of the defendant. It is therefore ordered, adjudged, and decreed that the judgment be rendered against said Plaintiffs, and in favor of said Defendant and Plaintiffs in reconvention for the sum of \$67.72, with costs of suit to be taxed.

Dec. 3, 1831

Charles Tessier

Parish Judge and Ex Officio

Judge of the Court of Probates."

The court demanded from Rodrigues Delande, Celeste Delande, Tony Delande, \$67.72 with judicial interest from Nov. 25, 1831; and also \$46.25, costs which Diego E. Pintado, curator . . . lately recovered by judgment of probate court. "If they shall not pay in three days after demand the sheriff should cause the same to be made out of the personal estate of Rodrigues, Celeste, and Tony, except slaves, if sufficient personal estate exclusive of slaves can be found, but if sufficient personal estate of said Rodrigues, Celeste, and Tony exclusive of slaves, cannot be found in your parish that then you cause said sum to be made of the real estate and slaves of said Rodrigues, Celeste, and Tony in your Parish."

Judgment	\$ 67.72
Interest	1.55
Clerk	16.43 ³ / ₄
Judge	11.00
Witnesses	18.80
Sheriff	29.75

\$145.25³/₄

Received April 9, 1832

John Buhler, Sheriff

Filed May 11, 1832

Jm. Winthrop, Clerk.

APPENDIX F

OCCUPATIONS OF FREE COLORED IN NEW ORLEANS, 1854²⁵³

<i>Kind</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Mulattoes</i>	<i>Total</i>
Apprentices	1	10	11
Architects	—	1	1
Bakers	—	4	4
Barbers	6	40	46
Barkeepers	2	2	4
Blacksmiths	6	20	26
Boarding House Keepers.....	1	17	18
Boatmen	7	32	39
Bookbinders	—	4	4
Brickmakers	—	3	3
Brokers	1	8	9

²⁵³ *Negro Population, 1790-1915.*

<i>Kind</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Mulattoes</i>	<i>Total</i>
Butchers	1	24	25
Cabinetmakers	3	21	24
Capitalists	—	4	4
Carmen	19	20	39
Carpenters	74	447	521
Cigar makers.....	14	155	169
Clerks	—	63	63
Clothiers	1	—	1
Collectors	—	2	2
Coachmen	5	7	12
Cooks	18	19	37
Coopers	18	37	55
Doctors	1	5	6
Engineers	—	4	4
Farmers	10	148	158
Gardeners	6	7	13
Gunsmiths	—	4	4
Hostlers	—	3	3
Hunters	5	4	9
Jewellers	—	5	5
Laborers	139	272	411
Lithographers	—	1	1
Mariners	2	20	22
Marketmen	8	24	32
Masons	68	257	325
Mechanics	7	51	58
Merchants	8	69	77
Ministers	—	1	1
Musicians	—	4	4
Music teachers	—	1	1
Overseers	3	22	25
Painters	4	26	30
Peddlers	2	7	9
Pilots	—	2	2
Planters	23	221	244
Sailmakers	1	5	6
Servants	2	2	4
Sextons	—	1	1
Ship carpenters.....	2	4	6
Shoemakers	18	81	99

<i>Kind</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Mulattoes</i>	<i>Total</i>
Stevedores	1	6	7
Stewards	2	9	11
Students	0	7	7
Tailors	3	83	86
Teachers	1	14	15
Upholsterers	1	7	8

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THE RED RIVER OF THE SOUTH

(HISTORICAL ASPECTS PERTAINING TO THE NAVIGATION OF THIS
RIVER, WITH A TABULATED LIST OF STEAMBOATS, STEAMBOAT
MASTERS, AND WAY LANDINGS)

By N. PHILIP NORMAN

INTRODUCTION

The Red River of the South arises from a number of dendritic branches on the eastern slope of the Llana Estacado in the mid-eastern border section of the State of New Mexico. It is approximately 1300 miles long. The exact source of this river was not determined definitely until a few years ago. It flows in an easterly direction, forming the boundary between Texas, Oklahoma and Arkansas; it enters the State of Arkansas about forty miles north of the Louisiana-Arkansas boundary line, flowing in an eastward direction for some twenty-five miles, where it abruptly changes its course (just above Fulton, Ark.), to flow almost due south to a point about fifteen miles above Shreveport. It then flows in a southeasterly direction as far as Natchitoches, La. From Natchitoches to Colfax there are two river channels—the older western channel, now known as Cane River, is no longer the main channel of the river. According to Fortier, the Red River shifted to an eastward course in 1836, which was then known as the Rigolette de Bon Dieu. After the river permanently established itself in this new channel, the name of that section, Rigolette de Bon Dieu, was forgotten.

From Natchitoches, it continues to flow in a southeasterly direction as far as Echo, La. (below Alexandria), where it abruptly changes its course to a northeasterly direction, crossing the Avoyelles Hills to enter the alluvial Mississippi Valley at Moncla, from which point it continues its generally northeasterly course to the mouth of the Black River, near Acme, La., in Concordia Parish. Between Moncla and Acme, the Red River uses an old abandoned meander of the Mississippi, but flows in the opposite direction (northeasterly) from the course taken by the Mississippi (southwesterly) when this part of Red River was an old Mississippi River channel. From Acme, the Red River follows a crevasse channel southeastward to the mouth of an unnamed

bayou, leading away from Bay Rounde Bayou, where it takes a still older abandoned course of the Mississippi River around Red River Bay and Sunk Lake to the mouth of Bayou Natchitoches (a bayou in the southern part of Louisiana, near the mouth of the Red River). From the mouth of Bayou Natchitoches to the head of the Atchafalaya River, the Red River takes a comparatively straight course southward. Eight miles below its junction at the head of the Atchafalaya River to the point of its junction with the Mississippi River the Red River flows through the downstream arm (Sugar House Chute) of a meander cut off from the modern Mississippi River channel. In 1823 the Red River followed the upstream arm (Upper Old River) of this same meander loop.

Generally speaking, the Red River from Shreveport to its mouth has been gradually shifting its channel in an easterly direction as a result of the eastward shift of the Mississippi River channel which has taken place from time to time in the past. For a fuller discussion of the physiographic features of the Red and Mississippi rivers, the reader is referred to the exhaustive, scholarly and interesting writings of Harold Norman Fisk, *Geology of Avoyelles and Rapides Parishes* (Louisiana Department of Conservation, Geological Bulletin No. 18) and John Huner, Jr., *Geology of Caldwell and Winn Parishes* (Louisiana Department of Conservation, Geological Bulletin No. 15).

There are many evidences of prehistoric human occupancy of the Red River Valley. The well known prehistoric settlement near Marksville in Avoyelles Parish has given its name (Marksville) to the oldest of three described ceramic complexes in Louisiana. The Marksville complex has been correlated with the Hopewell culture which has been estimated to have endured from 800 to 2000 years. In 1700, the Rapides-Avoyelles area was populated by people belonging to the Natchezan linguistic division. The Avoyel group had their main village near the rapids of the Red, just above the modern town of Alexandria, and another village near Marksville. The Natchitoches, "a Caddoan tribe," with their allies, "the Washitas and the Capiclies," controlled a large area of territory between Natchitoches and Shreveport. These people were the first navigators of Red River and there are good reasons for believing that they did engage in trade, using the river as a means of transportation.

The Spaniards were the first white people to explore the Red River region. The expeditions led by De Soto and Coronado were exploring that country about the same time, 1540-43. De Soto died before reaching the Red River; but his men, under the leadership of Moscoso, crossed Red River near Texarkana and entered Texas in an effort to reach Mexico. Coronado entered Texas from the west, and crossed the Red River somewhere near Vernon, or Quanah, Texas. Upon the explorations of De Soto and Coronado, Spain based her claim to the Red River region. A century and a half later French explorers were pushing into that area. La Salle's survivors visited the Natchitoches Indians at the present site of the City of Natchitoches in 1687, perhaps the first Frenchmen to visit Red River. In 1689, Tonti, while searching for La Salle's followers, ascended the Red River Valley to a point near Texarkana. In 1714, St. Denis was sent by Cadillac to take possession of the Red River country and to open trade with the Spaniards to the West. In 1716, to offset French encroachment in the region of Natchitoches, the Spaniards built the mission De Los Adaes about seven leagues west of Natchitoches. In 1717, the French erected a fort at Natchitoches; Fort St. Louis de Carlorette was founded by La Harpe in 1719 far above Natchitoches. In 1718, a post was founded at the rapids just above Alexandria and called Post Rapide; soon thereafter, settlers began to go into this area under grants from the Western Company. From that time on, under French and Spanish rule, settlers infiltrated in increasing numbers in all sections of the Red River Valley.

As a consequence of the rapid settling of this valley, navigation of the Red River was of prime importance to the settlers. The original condition of the river was unsatisfactory. The channel of the river for ninety-two miles above Natchitoches was filled at intervals by a mass of sunken driftwood, logs and stumps, which was known as the Great Raft. The head of navigation for all traffic was at the foot of this raft, commencing at the mouth of Loggy Bayou which was 257 miles above the mouth of the river. In addition to this raft, the river everywhere was obstructed by snags and drift, and, at Alexandria, Louisiana, by a ledge of rock. Above the Great Raft, local log jams (small rafts) had formed at intervals nearly to the Arkansas-Louisiana line.

Passage around the rafts through outlets and side channels was practical only during high water stages. This necessitated

the opening of two routes which were almost parallel to the main channel. The westward passage left the main channel of the river by Bayou Pierre, just above the bluffs at Grand Ecore, and re-entered the river at Coates' Bluff, just below the present site of the City of Shreveport. The eastward passage left the river through Loggy Bayou, in the vicinity of Natchitoches, thence through Lake Bistineau and Red Chute and re-entered the main river channel by several connecting bayous, the uppermost known as Willow Chute. The low water main channel depth on many shoals was only one and a half feet and the width ninety feet. Obviously, during low water season only very small boats could navigate the river.

Before the advent of the steamboat, the transportation of goods to and from market was an arduous duty carried on in primitive types of river craft: pirogues (dugouts), rafts, flatboats, keelboats, French bateaux, etc. The larger boats plied between the rapids and New Orleans during ordinary or low water stages; during high water the larger boats were able to reach Natchitoches. During low water stages, goods were portaged around the rapids from the larger boats, loaded into lighter-draft boats which ascended the river to Natchitoches, Grand Ecore and sometimes to Coates' Bluff, where their cargoes were transferred to wagon trains and transported to their destinations.

Settlers of the Red River Basin began clamoring for the removal of the Great Raft. Canoes, pirogues, flatboats, and keelboats could navigate around the raft, and steamboats also did it, through necessity, but the increase in the size and number of steamboats created a condition which could be solved only by the removal of the raft. Many attempts to solve the problem had been made. It was thought that it was impossible to remove the raft. Therefore, a number of canals were cut connecting side channels to facilitate better navigational conditions and shorten the routes around the raft. In 1833 Captain Henry Miller Shreve had been appointed Superintendent of Western River Improvements. In response to a petition by the citizens of the Red River Valley, he was sent to Red River to determine the best means for increasing the navigability of Red River from Natchitoches to Shreveport. Captain Shreve constructed two battering-ram type of steam vessels for the purpose of removing the raft and began the job in May, 1833. He worked for five

years on this project before the raft was removed; when he finally finished the job the river was opened to navigation to Fort Towson, 720 miles above its mouth.

In 1855 the U. S. Government sent a surveyer named Fuller to survey the raft region and report what could be done to restore adequate navigational facilities; \$150,000 was appropriated for this project. Fuller's work was a failure. In 1872 another survey was authorized and Captain C. W. Howell ordered Lieut. Eugene A. Woodruff, U. S. engineer, to make the survey. Lieut. Woodruff completed his survey and \$150,000 was appropriated by Congress for the first year's work. Lieut. Woodruff began operations in November, 1872. He completed his work in January, 1874. From that time on, the Federal and State governments have maintained a snagboat patrol of this river from Shreveport to its mouth.

The first steamboat to ascend the Red River was Captain Henry M. Shreve's *Enterprise*. The *Enterprise* made two trips on Red River; on the first trip, in the latter part of December, 1814, she reached the rapids, just above Alexandria; on the second trip, in the early part of 1815, she reached Natchitoches, then the head of navigation. The *Enterprise* was the first steamboat to successfully ascend the rapids on Red River. In 1817, the *Zebulon M. Pike*, which was the first steamboat to reach St. Louis (1816), made a trip up Red River as far as the rapids. The next boat to ascend the Red River was the *Perseverance*, in 1818. In 1820 Captain Jacob Black's *Beaver* made the second known trip above the rapids and reached Natchitoches. In 1819-20 Captain J. Armitage's *Telegraph* made regular trips between Alexandria and New Orleans. In the 1820s the *Hornet*, S. Brandenburg, master; *Teche*, Campbell, master; *Kiamichi*, Gwin, master; *Alexandria*, William Waters, master; *Arkansas*, J. R. Kimball, master; *Superior*, Lecardo, master; *Car of Commerce*, Reed, master; *Eliza*, Rulen, master; and the *Gov. Shelby* plied Red River between Natchitoches and New Orleans. In 1830, a considerable fleet of steamboats was engaged in this trade. In 1830 the *Charleston*, Ruth Edwards, master, brought the first two white women to Shreveport. In 1832 Captain Jackson's *John B. Laeledge* was the first boat to ascend the Rigolette de Bon Dieu; she was followed by the *Pioneer*. In 1833 the *Lady Washington*, English, master, claimed to have gone 100 miles further up Red River than any other boat. In the same year, the Bayou Boeuf & Red River

Navigation Company was organized—the first record of a steamboat company operating steamboats on Red River. In 1835 Captain Ben V. Crooks' *Rover* took supplies to Fort Towson. In 1836 the *Levant* took to New Orleans the issue of the *Red River Herald* of Natchitoches containing an account of the fall of the Alamo.

In 1837 Captain J. M. Gillum of the *Black Hawk* brought action against the owners of the steamer *Marmora* for damages to his boat by the *Marmora*; the first action of its kind on record. In the same year, the New Orleans and Texas Navigation Company was organized to operate a fleet of steamers between New Orleans and Natchitoches. In 1842 Captain W. W. Wetherbury's *Llama* was the first boat to reach Jefferson, Texas, through Cypress Bayou; George Alban was the pilot of this boat. In 1853 Captain W. W. Wetherbury brought suit against the Government for permission to change the name of his boat, the *Franklin Pierce*, to *Texana*, because the *Franklin Pierce* had the reputation of being an "unlucky" boat. Congress passed a special act authorizing the change of name in February, 1855.

About 1849 George L., John and Ben B. Kouns and William Tiley Scovell formed a steamboat company to operate boats on the Ouachita River and Bayou Bartholomew. In 1850 they ran a boat up Red River, the *Era No. 1*, which was the pioneer boat of what was to become the famous G. L. Kouns & Brothers' Line. From 1850 to about 1880 the Kouns Brothers and associates, chiefly the Scovells, Dillons, Boardmans, Reas, Kimballs, and others, operated many steamers on Red River. These steamers plied between New Orleans and Shreveport and Jefferson, Texas, and also to upper Red River towns—Springbank, Texas, and Kiamichi, Indian Territory (now Oklahoma); the smaller boats running from Shreveport up—the larger ones from Shreveport down, some to New Orleans, others to Natchez, Vicksburg and other points on the Mississippi River.

The first record of a daily newspaper published on a boat was in 1870—on Captain Mart. H. Kouns' *Era No. 11*. On November 30, 1870, the Red River Packet Company was incorporated, with daily departures of steamers from Shreveport to New Orleans and Way Landings, making close connections with St. Louis and Ohio River steamers and New Orleans railways. Beginning in 1871 the Carter Line of St. Louis operated for several years a number of fine steamers in the St. Louis-Shreveport trade. In 1871 the Red River Navigation Company was organized.

In June, 1872, the Shreveport Coast Line, the Bayou La Fourche Line, the Crescent Star Line, and the New Orleans and Gulf Transportation Company were combined into the Red River and Coast Line. The incorporators were: Captains M. N. Wood, C. P. Truslow, G. S. Kouns, George L. and Ben S. White, James T. O'Pry, W. T. and M. L. Scovell, W. T. Boardman, G. W. Rea, W. S. Bassett, John J. Dodd, Richard Sinnott, G. C. Hamilton, C. W. Drown, P. A. Charlet and J. T. Aucoin. The company operated a fleet of eighteen steamers on upper and lower Red River. The boats were identified by the Company's emblem, a star and crescent placed between the twin-stacks. On the Company's letterhead the public was informed that it issued "through bills of lading to and from Shreveport, St. Louis, New York, Boston, and all other points." About 1887 the Line was reorganized and the name changed to the Red River Line. The emblem was also changed—a large, red, five-pointed star swung between the smokestacks (chimneys).

This company was very successful; so much so that the Texas & Pacific Railroad placed two boats, the *E. B. Wheelock* and *C. E. Satterlee*, in the New Orleans-Shreveport trade in the early nineties, in opposition to the Red River Line. This venture was unsuccessful, and the Red River Line continued to operate a fleet of steamers until about 1908. Carter Brothers (H. Mayo, Ernest G. and Goodwin) operated an independent fleet of steamers on Red River from 1898 until 1914.

From 1820 to 1864 hundreds of steamboats were operated in the Red River trade. The early boats were small ones, with wooden hulls ranging from 106 to 120 feet long, 20 to 24 feet wide, and 3 to 4 feet hold, propelled by side paddle wheels, which were turned by a single (one cylinder), low pressure (20 to 30 pounds) engine. One or more boilers supplied the steam for the engine. These engines had a relatively small bore and a long stroke. A heavy wooden flywheel was necessary for the smooth operation of this steam engine; it also enabled the engineer to prevent "stalling" his engine on "dead center" when it was necessary to reverse, or start, the engine. A brake was used to control the inertia of the flywheel. Each side paddle wheel had its own shaft (axle) which extended from the outer axle box of each paddle wheel to the longitudinal midline of the boat. The usual practice was to connect the "pitman" (connecting rod) directly

to the inner end of a paddle wheel shaft through a "double crank"—this was called the "crank axle." The flywheel was also on this shaft, or axle. Sometimes another arrangement was used—the steam engine was a separate unit and its rotative motion was transmitted to a paddle wheel shaft through a belt. Irrespective of the mechanical arrangement, a clutch was interposed between the paddle wheel shafts, which enabled the engineer to disconnect one paddle wheel. There were two reasons for the clutch: first, in making landings or maneuvering around a sharp bend it was frequently necessary to stop one paddle wheel and reverse the other; second, the boiler feed pump which was called the "doctor" and supplied the boilers with water, was operated from the paddle wheel shaft, either through a cam or belt. Therefore, whenever there was a head of steam in the boilers it was necessary to keep the engine running to operate the "doctor". When at a landing it was more economical for the engine to turn one paddle wheel than to turn both paddle wheels.

Single engines were used on many Red River steamboats until about 1840. The "single lungers" began to disappear from the river in the late 'thirties. By 1840, all new steamers were equipped with "double engines." The first advertisement which the writer found containing a reference to "double engines" was in an 1846 issue of the *Planters' Banner* of Franklin, Louisiana, concerning the steamboat *Judge McLean* which was built in 1844. In "double engine", side-wheel boats, each engine was separately connected to the paddle wheel shafts; if the boat was a stern-wheeler, the engines were connected to single cranks on each end of the paddle wheel shaft, locomotive fashion.

The passenger accommodations on Red River steamboats were rather crude until about 1850, at which time larger, more ornate and better-appointed boats were constructed with individual state-rooms for passengers. The earlier boats, which were small ones, had a "dry goods box" for a cabin, according to Captain Jesse K. Bell Rea. In the 'fifties and 'sixties large boats began to appear on Red River, ranging in length from two to three hundred feet. Notable among these floating palaces were the *Jesse K. Bell*, *B. L. Hodge*, *Countess*, *Creole*, *Princess*, *Cuba*, *M. L. Daugherty*, *Milton Relf*, *St. Charles*, *Louis D'Or*, *Magnolia Banner* and others which plied regularly between Shreveport and New Orleans.

During the Civil War there was great activity on Red River because it was the natural route for transporting food, munitions

and military supplies, horses and men from the Southwest to the Confederate forces operating in sections of the South east of the Mississippi River. It was not until after the fall of Port Hudson (near the mouth of Red River) in July, 1864, that traffic came to a standstill on Red River. The Federals were considerably disturbed about the traffic on this river and determined to put an end to it. In 1864, the U. S. Government dispatched General N. P. Banks and Admiral David D. Porter with a large land and naval force, respectively, to destroy the resources to be found in the Red River Valley and the steamboats which made these resources available to the Confederates in the eastern section of the South. Many interesting naval and army-naval battles were fought in this Valley. It is not within the scope of this article to recount these battles, but a reference to the records of the steamers *W. H. Webb*, *Grand Duke*, *Era No. 5*, *Dr. Batey*, *City Belle*, *Alice Vivian*, *Grand Era*, *Queen of the West*, in the tabulated list, will give the reader a brief account of these engagements. Moreover, in connection with the Civil War it is interesting to note that the Confederate ironclad *Missouri* was built at Shreveport in 1863. This ironclad did not fire a shot during the war and was surrendered to the Federals in 1865.

Immediately after the Civil War the inhabitants of the Red River Valley began the task of reconstructing their ravished Garden of Eden, and within six months after the cessation of hostilities the river was again teeming with steamers from New Orleans loaded with supplies, building materials, farm implements and other necessities for the towns and farms along the course of the river. Steamers bound downstream were loaded with cotton, cottonseed, corn, livestock, hides, pelts, poultry, poultry products, etc., for the New Orleans market. By 1870 several steamboat companies were operating a number of very large and elegantly equipped steamers on this river.

In 1872 a new invention was placed on the steamboat—the so-called swinging stage. This was in reality a large gangplank supported by a derrick boom which was swung at an angle on a derrick pole. Most Red River boats had a swinging stage on each side of the forecastle and a tall jackstaff which rose skyward from the bow of the boat. In later years (1900s) when the steamboat business began to decrease in lucrativeness, smaller boats replaced the larger ones and were equipped with a single stage.

A very unique, unusual custom observed by steamboatmen operating boats on the Louisiana bayous, the Red and lower Mississippi rivers, was to place the boat in "mourning" upon the death of the captain or owner. Four-inch-wide black ribbon was wound spirally around the jackstaff, derrick poles, derrick booms, verge staff, flagpoles, and draped along the boiler deck railings. This was not a universal custom, but a local one, and the writer reports it because of its local interest.

Hitherto, no one has compiled systematically a complete list of steamboats which plied Red River sometime during their existence. It has required a score of years of unremitting, intensive research to assemble this information. There have been many difficulties to overcome in the collection and preparation of the data. Moreover, many confusing aspects have appeared in news items which would mislead a research worker who was not thoroughly familiar with the subject. For example, in reporting the arrival of steamers at a certain port, the "river news" reporter would state that the *Twelfth Era*, *Lockwood* and *Bryarly* arrived at Alexandria or Shreveport. One would conclude that the reporter recorded the names of these boats correctly; however, this assumption is erroneous—the *Twelfth Era* was the *Era No. 12*; the *Lockwood*, the *R. J. Lockwood*; and the *Bryarly*, either the *Joe* or the *R. T. Bryarly*. Frequently, boats had nicknames. For example, the *John D. Scully* was referred to as "*One-Arm John*" (because she had one chimney); the *Valley Queen* was called the "*Statesman's Boat*" (because her master was named George Washington Rea and her clerk Henry Clay Boazman); the *La Belle* was called the "*Dirty Belle*" (because she used so much fuel that clouds of smoke belched from her stacks); the *Independent* was called the "*Fourth of July*," etc. To the uninitiated this is very confusing.

Patient research through newspaper files and other records eventually clarified this element of confusion. In searching through published and unpublished data the writer has come across some very contradictory statements which were misleading and required several years of research to rectify; for example, a list came into the writer's possession which was compiled from the "river news" column and steamboat advertisements of a very extensive list of old newspapers; this list contained many errors, because the compiler was not systematic in making notes (mostly punctuative errors when transcribing data) and as a consequence

it was very difficult to separate the names of the boats from the names of their masters. Included in this list are several steamboats with master's names which never existed. Six outstanding examples concern Captains Noah Scovell, M. N. Wood, Joseph A. Aikin, John Lawless, James Caghill and Dick Sinnott; all of whom were well-known Red River operators, but there is no authentic record of any boat being named for them, although it was a very common custom to name steamboats for well-known rivermen.

Several lists of steamboats have been compiled by individuals from wharfboat records, U. S. Steamboat Inspectors' records and from the account books of steamboat agents. This data was recorded in handwriting. Frequently, the person copying this data would fail to decipher correctly the original handwriting and as a result the names of steamers would be erroneously transcribed; for example: *Sodo* appears as *Lodo*; *Duroc* as *Duree*; *Desmet* as *De Sims*; *Garry Owen* as *Harry Owen*; *John E. Kenna* as *John H. Kenner*; *Jos. Holden* as *Jos. Holder*; *D. L. Tally* as *D. L. Tully*; *Gerard B. Allen* as *B. Gerard* or *Gerard B.*; *Maggie Hays* as *Hays*; *Carrie V. Kountz* as *C. V. Counts* or *Counts*; etc. It was not until the writer obtained a photograph of the *D. L. Tally* plainly showing the spelling on her name plate as *D. L. Tally* that the correct spelling was determined: there are several references to this boat as the *D. L. Tully*.

It required several years of intensive research in available contemporaneous data (chiefly old newspaper files) to determine the correct names of steamboats appearing on several lists sent to the writer. Not infrequently, only one authentic reference to a steamboat plying the Red River is on record; for example, the writer has but one reference record of the *Sioux City*, *John D. Perry* (both officially listed as Missouri River steamers), and others, as plying Red River—New Orleans commission merchants' statements showing that drayage charges were made for freight to these steamers which were bound for Cotile Landing, a well-known plantation on Red River. These records are in the writer's possession and there can be no question of their authenticity.

It is a well-known fact that there were seasonal migrations of steamboats from the upper to the lower rivers; this was especially true during the "cotton season". Freight bills, packet postmarks, commission merchants' statements, wharfboat records, steam-

boat agents' records, newspaper advertisements, "river news" columns in daily newspapers published in New Orleans, Mobile, Alexandria, Natchitoches and Shreveport, U. S. Customhouse records, U. S. Steamboat Inspectors' reports, insurance underwriters' reports, U. S. Engineer Department bulletins and official Civil War records have supplied most of the information in the compilation of this extensive tabulated list of steamboats. Whenever it has been possible to do so, an attempt has been made to authenticate each boat from several sources of information. The list does not include the names of some fifty steamboats which various persons have stated to have plied Red River, because it was impossible to find any definite record of these boats. I do not believe that the list includes every boat that has been on Red River, but it includes every boat which has been authenticated by reliable data, plying Red River at some time during its career.

It would be impossible for the writer to list the name of every person who has contributed information on the subject of Red River and the steamboats which have churned their way up and down this stream for more than one hundred consecutive years. The chief contributors of information are listed separately under the heading "*Legend: Referring to Source of Information.*" In addition, the writer desires to express his appreciation to the following persons for their sympathetic interest and coöperation in supplying whatever information they had in their possession, or for obtaining information from friends, relatives and other sources: Mr. N. W. McClure, Mrs. R. C. Friend and Mr. C. G. Rives of Shreveport, La.; Misses Germaine Portré-Bobinski and Clara M. Smith, authors of *Natchitoches: The Up-to-Date Oldest Town in Louisiana*; Miss Corinne Saucier of Natchitoches, La.; Mrs. Lynn N. Norman of Colfax, La.; Mrs. William E. Owens of Pineville, La.; Mrs. Herman Duncan of Alexandria, La.; Mrs. James D. Norman of Jennings, La.; Mr. Percy Stewart of Natchez, Miss.; Mr. John F. Hopkins of Louisville, Ky.; Captain Frederick Way, Jr., of Sewickley, Pa.; Capt. James R. Mullens of Fort Worth, Texas; the late Capt. John C. Gibbs of Vidalia, La.; Mrs. Cammie Garret Henry of Melrose, La.; the late Mr. James T. Campbell of Dayton, Tenn.; Mr. Olden Lee Barker of Frisco, Texas; Mr. M. V. Higbie and Miss Caroline Pfaff of New Orleans, La.; Miss Constance D. Lathrop, Librarian, Naval Library of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Robert L. Urban (née Virginia Lee Wingfield) of Princeton, New Jersey.

The writer also wishes to express his appreciation to his wife, Frances Haley Norman, and her sister, Mrs. John C. Wright, for their painstaking assistance in assembling, preparing and correcting this data.

LEGEND: REFERRING TO SOURCE OF INFORMATION

- (D): Charles P. Deatherage, author of *A History of Greater Kansas City*. Contains an exhaustive historical account of steamboat navigation of the Missouri, Kansas and Kaw rivers; tabulated list of steamboats on these rivers; etc.
- (EFAS): Mr. E. F. A. Shackelford of Pineville, La.; collection of family correspondence, commission merchant statements, steamboat freight bills, old newspapers, etc., in the 1850s.
- (FLW): Captain F. L. Wooldridge of Memphis, Tenn.; born in March, 1879, at St. Louis, Mo. He is the fourth generation of a river family. His great-grandfather and grandfather operated flatboats on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. His grandfather, who was born in 1807, began flatboating at the age of 12; he later commanded flatboats until he began steamboating in 1827. Captain Wooldridge began his river career at the age of 12, when he obtained his first position as an office boy on a wharfboat. He has been continuously connected with steamboating in various capacities, excepting the time which he served in the U. S. Army during the Spanish-American War. From an early age, as a result of listening to steamboat stories from the lips of his grandfather, he became deeply interested in the historical aspects of river craft and the inland waterways which they plied. Fortunately, Capt. Wooldridge has recorded his information systematically and has kept an accurate record of the sources from which he obtained his information. He possesses the largest single collection of authentic data relating to steamboats and steamboating which has been obtained from annual Government Inspection records, U. S. Customhouse Department records, U. S. Engineer annual reports, wharfboat records, Insurance Underwriters' Assn. reports, old newspapers, newspaper files, historical monographs, books relating to this subject and personal experiences as an active steamboatman for almost half a century. Captain Wooldridge has spent more than 40 years collecting, assembling and authenticating his data. He has recently been appointed Librarian of the K. of C. Library of Memphis, Tenn. He is now engaged in the task of reorganizing this Library.
- (J): Hon. Hunter Jarreau, of Alexandria, La., managing editor of the *Daily Town Talk* of Alexandria for many years; collection of old newspapers published in Louisiana from

1834 to 1908; *Town Talk* files to date; personal experiences as a traveler on steamboats; writer and lecturer on steamboat history; son of the late Augustus Jarreau, who had an extensive collection of "account books" (wharfboat records) of transactions as a "steamboat agent" for Red River steamers in the 1870s and '80s.

- (K): Eugene Klein, *United States Waterway Packetmarks*, J. W. Stowell Printing Co., Federalsburg, Maryland, 1940.
- (LL): *Lloyd's Steamboat Directory*, by James T. Lloyd; published by James T. Lloyd & Co., Cincinnati, Ohio, 1853. Record of early steamboat disasters; river maps; steamboat history; etc.
- (MD): Dr. Milton Dunn, "History of Natchitoches," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, III (1920), 25-56.
- (MHO): Mrs. Maude Hearn O'Pry, author of *Chronicles of Shreveport and Caddo Parish*, Journal Printing Co., Shreveport, La., 1928; a daughter of the late James T. O'Pry, one of the incorporators of the Red River Coast Line in 1872; largest single collection of old Shreveport newspapers containing steamboat data, now the property of the University of Texas Library; includes steamboat list compiled by Mr. T. H. Thurmond of Shreveport.
- (N): Collection of correspondence, "commission merchant's" statements, freight bills, account books of the late Mr. E. B. Norman of Alexandria, La.; the owner of a landing known as Norman's Bar, about 30 miles below Alexandria, La.; also the collection of freight bills, old newspapers, and other data by the writer, the son of the late Mr. E. B. Norman.
- (NA): The Newport Association of Newport, Ky.; Captain Wesley Hafer, manager; historical list of steamboats and tales of early navigation.
- (Off. Records): Under this symbol, the following books:
- 1: *Official Records of the Union & Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Naval forces on Western Waters in the Civil War), Vols. 20, 24 & 26.
 - 2: Mahan, A. T., *The Navy in the Civil War* (The Gulf & Inland Waters), Vol. III, Chas. Scribner & Sons, 1883.
- (R): Captain Jesse K. Bell Rea of New Orleans, La.; last surviving Red River master and pilot, the direct descendant of a prominent steamboat family; collection of correspondence; personal data regarding river channel maps; a pilot's records of landings and personal experiences as a steamboat master and pilot; newspaper clippings.
- (S): Mr. D. A. Somdal of Shreveport, La.; collection of old Red River freight bills, packet postmarks, historical data, etc.

Mr. Somdal is a recognized historical authority on Red River. His collection of freight bills is the finest in the country.

- (W): Captain Ben. S. White of Shreveport, La. The oldest living Red River steamboatman; compiled a list of 471 Red River steamers, chiefly from wharfboat records at Shreveport; also from historical publications, newspaper files, memory and a personal record of steamboats which he has kept since his boyhood days. He states that many steamboats which plied the Red River are not included in his list, because of lost records, etc.
- (WJ): *The Waterways Journal* of St. Louis, Mo. Published as a weekly periodical since 1887; called the "Riverman's Bible"; historical topics; current news and problems of the inland waterways; largest collection of steamboat photographs.
- (ICUS): *Internal Commerce of the United States*, Treasury Department Reports on, for years indicated. (Washington, D.C.).
- (USED): *United States Engineer Department, Annual Reports or Bulletins*, for years indicated. (Washington, D.C.).
- (Austin Papers): Eugene C. Barker (editor), *The Austin Papers (Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1922; 2 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1928)*.
- (Battles & Leaders): Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel (editors), *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, 4 vols. (New York: Century Co., 1887-88).
- (Chittenden): Hiram Martin Chittenden, *History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River; Life and Adventures of Joseph La Barge*, 2 vols. (New York: F. P. Harper, 1903).
- (Olmsted): Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States, with Remarks on Their Economy* (2 vol. edition. New York: Putnam's, 1904).
- (Robinson): William Morrison Robinson, Jr., *The Confederate Privateers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928).
- (Saxon): Lyle Saxon, *Old Louisiana* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1929).
- (Scharf): John Thomas Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy* (New York: Rogers & Sherwood, 1887).
- (Texan Dip. Corr.): George P. Garrison (editor), *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas (Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1908, Part II; Washington, D.C., 1911)*.
- (Way): Frederick Way, *The Log of the Betsy Ann* (New York: McBride & Co., 1933).

- (*Alexandria Gazette*): Alexandria (La.) *Gazette and Planters' Intelligencer*.
 (*Louisiana Democrat*): Alexandria, *Louisiana Democrat*.
 (*Planters' Intelligencer*): Alexandria, La., *Planters' Intelligencer and Rapides, Avoyelles and Catahoula Advertiser*.
 (*Red River American*): Alexandria, La., *Red River American*.
 (*Red River Republican*): Alexandria, La., *Red River Republican*.
 (*Red River Whig*): Alexandria, La., *Red River Whig*.
 (*Southern Transcript*): Alexandria, La., *Southern Transcript*.
 (*Town Talk*): Alexandria, La., *Daily Town Talk*. (March 17, 1933, is the Golden Jubilee edition.)
 (*Transcript & Whig*): Alexandria, La., *Southern Transcript and Semi-Weekly Whig*.
 (*Western Democrat*): Alexandria, La., *Western Democrat*.
 (*Planters' Banner*): Franklin, La., *Planters' Banner*.
 (*Constitutional Advocate*): Natchitoches, La., *Constitutional Advocate*.
 (*Courier*): Natchitoches, La., *Courier*.
 (*Herald*): Natchitoches, La., *Herald*.
 (*Reporter*): Natchitoches, La., *Reporter*.
 (*Red River Chronicle*): Natchitoches, La., *Red River Chronicle*.
 (*Commercial Bulletin*): New Orleans *Commercial Bulletin*.
 (*Crescent*): New Orleans *Daily Crescent*.
 (*N. O. Democrat*): New Orleans *Democrat*.
 (*N. O. Bee*): New Orleans *Bee*.
 (*Daily Price Current*): New Orleans *Daily Price Current*.
 (*Picayune*): New Orleans *Daily Picayune*.
 (*Caddo Gazette*): Shreveport, La., *Caddo Gazette*.
 (*Shreveport Times*): Shreveport (La.) *Times*. (June 28, 1935, is the Centennial edition.)
 (*South-Western*): Shreveport, La., *South-Western*.
 (*Star*): Hope, Arkansas, *Star* (Only Centennial Edition of June 26, 1936).

NOTE: In addition, information obtained from old newspapers, etc., not a part of a large collection of data, is acknowledged by indicating the specific source of the information. Newspapers published outside of Louisiana are cited by giving the name of the city where published, preceding the title.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS:

- SW = side-wheel boat
 STW = stern-wheel boat
 CW = recessed center wheel
 ' = feet, in stating dimensions
 " = inches, in stating dimensions
 x or/ = by, in stating dimensions
 cyl. = engine cylinders dimensions; simple or Compound.

EXPLANATORY NOTES: This data has been assembled, as far as possible, in the following order: when and where built; side-wheel, stern-wheel or recessed center wheel boat; unless otherwise stated, stern-wheelers (STW), and recessed center wheelers (CW), had twin engines connected to each end of the paddle wheel shaft; side-wheelers (SW), had their engines connected directly to each paddle wheel, to facilitate operating each side-wheel independently, i.e., one could be "backing" while the other turned "forward"; tonnage; hull dimensions are recorded in the following order: length, width and depth of hold. Length is the distance from stempost to stern transom; width is the distance between the gunwales, amidship. Sometimes the "floor" or bottom of the hull was narrower than the main deck, and "floor" width stated; otherwise, the sides of the hull were at right angles to the floor; depth of hold is amidships and does not include the "sheer". Unless otherwise stated, hulls were "model-bowed", i.e., a pointed hull; number of boilers and dimensions of same; engine dimensions are recorded as to bore and stroke—if compound, the bore of the high and low pressure cylinders are stated; place and date of operation of boat in chronological sequence; name of master of boat; fate of boat; designation of source of information.

RED RIVER STEAMBOATS

ADMIRAL: New Orleans and Shreveport packet in 1870s. (MHO)

ADMIRAL FARRAGUT: Built in 1864 at Beardstown, Ill.; STW; 186 tons; hull 158'x29'x4½'; 2 boilers; cyl. 14"/4'; machinery was from *Key West No. 2*; dismantled at Cincinnati in 1871 and machinery went into the *Mary E. Poe*; ran on Red River in 1865. (FLW; W; S)

ADRIATIC: Built in 1854 at Pittsburgh; hull 185'x42'x6'; cyl. 17"/5'; burned on Red River, unknown date; perhaps rebuilt into *Adriatic* of 1855. (FLW; W)

ADRIATIC: Built in 1855 at Shousetown, Pa.; STW; 424 tons; hull 200'x45'x6½'; Missouri River packet; maiden trip out of St. Louis, March 28, 1855; C. Stone, master; Feb. 26, 1856, in ice above St. Louis; repaired; sunk, March 28, 1865, head Palmyra Bend on Mo. River; with Porter on Red River in 1864. (FLW; W; *Off. Records*)

AFTON, JR.: Red River packet in 1857. (K)

A. FUSELIER: Built in 1851 at St. Mary's, La.; SW; 195 tons; exploded boilers in 1851; rebuilt; last record, she arrived

Mobile, March 1, 1857; "Thru-Line" New Orleans and Alabama River trade; Red River trade in 1850s. (FLW; W; LL, p. 282)

AID: Built in 1843 at Cincinnati; 137 tons; New Orleans-Natchitoches trade; Reed, master; Captain Peter Delmau, owner. (W; *Red River Republican*, 1844)

AID: Built in 1869 at Pittsburgh; double hull; center stern-wheel; hull 136'x54'x5½'; purchased in 1873 at St. Louis to help remove the Raft on Red River; arrived at Shreveport, Jan. 10, 1873. (FLW; USED, 1873)

ALABAMA: Built in 1860 at Louisville; SW; 412 tons; New Orleans-Shreveport trade; H. L. Lee, master; burned, April 4, 1867, at Grand Reach above New Orleans. (FLW)

ALBIA: Red River packet, date unknown. (W)

ALEX: Red River packet, date unknown. (W)

ALEX. MITCHELL: Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1870; Charles Boardman, master. (MHO)

ALEX SPEER: U. S. Transport service in 1865; 300 tons; laid up by ice in Jan., 1865, at Cincinnati; last record, sunk on Arkansas River; Red River trade in 1860s. (FLW, from Captain E. W. B. Nowland's records; W)

ALEXANDRIA: Built in 1820 on Ohio River; 44 tons, carried 100; SW; hull 106' long; maiden trip to New Orleans, April 10, 1821; Wm. Waters, master. Natchitoches-New Orleans packet in 1825; J. R. Kimball, master. (FLW; S)

ALEXANDRIA: STW; Red River trade in 1861; on Dec. 1, 1864, patrol duty with Porter's fleet at Donaldsonville, La.; advertised for sale by U. S. Gov't. at Mound City, Ill., Aug. 17, 1865; sank Oct. 5, 1867, on Amite River, La. (FLW; EFAS; *Off. Records*, p. 749)

ALEXANDRIA: Built about 1875; STW; Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1870s; machinery went into the *Halette*, which was built by Capt. G. W. Rea. (R; *Town Talk*, Mar. 23, 1883)

ALFRED ROBB: With Porter in 1864. (*Off. Records*; FLW)

ALICE VIVIAN: Built in 1856 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 668 tons; hull 225'x42'x7'; 6 boilers, 42"/28'; cyl. 26"/10'; arrived Mobile, Dec. 24, 1856; Ables, master; 1861-64, made two trips to Charleston, S. C., and two trips to Havana, Cuba, as a Confederate blockade runner; then renamed *South*; captured by U. S. S. *De Soto*, taken to New Orleans and used as U. S. transport; reported aground at Grand Ecore, La., in 1864; sold at Mobile by U. S. Gov't. to Capt. Charles Campbell; dismantled at St. Louis in 1870 with other former Ala. River boats; hull sold for ice-barge; sunk, foot Island No. 10. (FLW; Off. Records)

ALICE LE BLANC: Built about 1892; STW; low water boat. (W; R; N)

ALICE W. GLAZE: Built in 1853 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; Red River packet in 1854; also in New Orleans and Bends trade; burned, March 3, 1857, above Bayou Sara, La. (FLW; K)

ALIDA: Built in 1853 at Belle Vernon, Pa.; STW; 94 tons. (W; FLW)

ALLEN GLOVER: Only record in Shreveport *South-Western* that this boat sank on upper Red River in 1854. (MHO)

ALMA: Built in 1900 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; cotton guards; single stage; hull 155'x32'x4'; 2 boilers, 42"/22'; engines 12"/5'; operated by Red River Line; H. J. Brinker, Jr., master; wrecked at Grand Ecore about 1904. (FLW; R; WJ, Nov. 10, 1900)

ALPHA: New Orleans-Shreveport in 1866. (*South-Western*, Sept. 2, 1866)

ALPHA: 1883, Red River. (S)

ALPHIA: Built in 1887 at Covington, Ky.; 24 tons; hull 82'x14½'x3½'; sunk on Red River at Stumpy Bayou, March 20, 1889; towboat. (FLW; W)

AMANDA: Built in 1852 at Louisville; SW; 143 tons; hull 130'x26'x5'; Memphis-Hatchie river trade; Lenter, master; June 7, 1854, in Mobile-New Orleans trade; later in New Orleans-Aberdeen (Miss.) trade; 1857-60, in Red River trade; sank, May 5, 1867, on Ohio River. (FLW; W)

AMARANTH No. 4: Built in 1864 at St. Louis; STW; 270 tons; hull 156'x29'x4½'; 2 boilers; cyl. 12"/3½'; on Red River during cotton season in 1866; sank on Missouri River, Nov. 7, 1867. (FLW; W)

ANAWAN: Built in 1842 at Cincinnati; SW; 213 tons; hull 169' long; 2 boilers; cyl. 20½"/5½'; Red River trade in 1840s. (FLW; W)

ANDREW ACKLEY: Built about 1858; STW; Ouachita River packet, 1858-60; New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1860; scuttled on Ouachita River in 1864; raised and rebuilt. (FLW; W; *N. O. Bee*, Jan. 21, 1860)

ANDREW ACKLEY: Built in 1866 at Pittsburgh; STW; 260 tons; hull 162'x25'x3½'; 2 boilers; cyl. 12"/5'; rebuilt in 1868 at Pittsburgh and registered as 260 tons; in 1869 she was owned by Hazlett Line Packet Co. and commanded by Capt. Van Hook; also on Red and Arkansas rivers for several trips. It is not positively known whether or not this second *Ackley* was rebuilt out of the first. Probably the machinery was out of the first *Ackley*. (FLW; W)

ANNA: Built about 1853; Red River packet. (W)

ANNA: New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1872. (S)

ANNA B. ADAMS: Built in 1889 at Little Rock, Ark.; STW; 451 tons; hull 157'x31½'x3'; 2 boilers; eng. cyl. 15"/5½'; owned by Ark. Packet Co. until May 1, 1891, when sold to Red River Line for Shreveport-Jefferson, Texas, trade; sank on Arkansas River, Dec. 11, 1891; last record, being repaired at New Orleans dry dock in 1893. (FLW; WJ)

ANNE EVERSON or ANNA EVERDON: Memphis-White River trade in 1865; arrived at Shreveport, Aug. 8, 1866, from Alexandria in record time of 52 hours; Chas. Lester, master; regular side-wheel Shreveport-New Orleans until about 1874; J. C. Wingard, master. This boat was very popular and affectionately referred to as the *Annie E.*, which caused some confusion, as there was an *Annie E.*, a bayou packet out of New Orleans in the 70's. (FLW; W; MHO; *South-Western*, Aug. 8, 1866)

ANNE PERRITT or ANNA PERRET: Sank on Jan. 25, 1866, on Red River; raised and arrived at Mobile from New

Orleans, April 2, 1866; Rhoades, master; New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1874. (FLW; W)

ANNE WAGLEY: Built in 1864 at Louisville; SW; 199 tons; arrived at Mobile, Aug. 21, 1865; W. C. Wagley, master; Montgomery, Mobile and New Orleans trade; Dec. 24, 1869, in New Orleans-Red River trade; sank, May 1, 1870, at Laborde's Landing on Bayou Lafourche. (FLW; W)

ANNIE DIXIE: Burned on Red River, May 30, 1864, to prevent falling into hands of U. S. forces. (FLW)

ANON or ANNON: Red River packet in 1874. (W; MHO)

ANY ONE: A transport with Porter's Red River expedition in 1864; Red River in 1870s. (*Off. Records*; MHO)

ARCHER: Built in 1844 at Pittsburgh; SW; 144 tons; hull 145'x22'x4'-10"; Shreveport-New Orleans packet in Dec., 1845; Ankrim, master; sank in collision with str. *Die Vernon*, Nov. 27, 1851, at Island No. 521, five miles above mouth of Illinois River; *Archer* was cut in two and sank immediately. (*Transcript & Whig*, Dec. 6, 1845; S; FLW; LL, p. 292)

ARCHIMEDES: Built in 1830 by Capt. Henry M. Shreve to clear out the Raft on Red River; later sold to U. S. Gov't. (FLW; USED, 1873)

ARGOSY: Built in 1863 at Pittsburgh; SW; 337 tons; hull 156'x33'x5½'; 3 boilers; cyl. 22"/7'; in 1863 burned upper works (cabin), near Greenwood, Miss.; rebuilt in 1864; bought by U. S. Gov't. in 1864 for tinclad gunboat service; with Porter on Red River in 1864; advertised for sale at Mound City in Aug., 1865; 1869, in St. Louis-Pittsburgh trade; sank, Feb. 25, 1875; raised and rebuilt as a freight boat at Middleport, Ohio. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

ARIZONA: Built in 1859 at Wilmington, Del., for the U. S. Mail Packet Co. (Morgan Line); SW; 450 tons; hull 225 feet long; low pressure, walking beam type engine; New Orleans-Mobile trade; captured near New Orleans by Farragut's fleet in 1863; sent to U. S. Q. M. Dept. at Cairo, Ill., for fumigation; with Porter on Red River in 1864. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

ARKANSAS: On Red River in 1820; 106 feet long; draws 17" water; 100 tons; Natchitoches-New Orleans packet. (S)

ARKANSAS TRAVELER: Built about 1851-52; Memphis-Old River trade; exploded boilers, July 28, 1854; ran on Red River, in 1853. (FLW; W)

ARMADELLO: Took the place of the *Navigator* in Shreveport-New Orleans trade in 1868; Isaac Kouns, master. (MHO)

ARROW LINE: Built in 1868 at Marietta, Ohio; STW; 80 tons; left Memphis, Nov. 10, 1870, with settlers migrating to Jefferson, Texas, on Red River. (FLW)

ASHLAND: Built in 1872; STW; 591 tons; hull 175'x36'x6'; 3 boilers; cyl. 20"/7'; Memphis-Little Rock trade in 1876; in 1881 brought first locomotive to Alexandria; burned at New Orleans, July 14, 1882. (FLW; *Town Talk*, March 17, 1933)

ASHLAND CITY: In Shreveport-Garland, Ark., trade in 1900. (FLW; W)

ASSUMPTION: Built in 1875 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 238 tons; hull 181'x36'x6½'; 4 boilers; cyl. 22"/7'; machinery from the *Lucy Hopkins* of 1867; in New Orleans and Upper Coast trade; Red River trade in 1875-78; William Gillen, master; on July 20, 1895, while in Bayou Vermillion trade, hit a bluff bar, suffered \$5,000 damage and had to be beached. The *Danube* and *Stella Wilds* went to her assistance. (FLW; W; WJ, July 27, 1935; *N. O. Democrat*, May 17, 1878)

ATLANTIC: Arrived New Orleans from St. Louis, March 21, 1845; Broadwell, master; Capt. Broadwell was a well known Red River master. (FLW, from *Daily Price Current*, March 21, 1845; W)

ATLANTIC No. 2: Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1874. (MHO; FLW)

AUGUSTA: Jefferson-New Orleans packet in 1855. (MHO)

AUTOCRAT: Built in 1860; hull 247'x40'x7'; with Porter in 1864; rebuilt as steamer *Southerner*. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

AVENGER: No data as to when or where built. A tinclad with Porter in 1864—possibly a dispatch boat. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

A. W. BAKER: Red River packet in C. S. naval service transporting supplies from Red River ports to Port Hudson, La., in 1862-63; captured above the mouth of Red River on Feb. 8, 1863, by the U. S. ram *Queen of the West*. (FLW; W; MHO; K; *Off. Records*; Scharf)

A. W. QUARRIER: Built in 1856 at Cincinnati; hull 185'x33'x61½'; Alabama River trade until about 1857; wreck removed by U. S. snagboat *C. W. Howell* on Red River in 1894. (FLW; USED, 1894, Vol. III, p. 1435)

B.: Towboat with Porter on Red River in 1864. (*Off. Records*)

BALTIC: Built in 1860 from the *Baltic* of 1857 which won the race with the *Diana* in the early part of 1860; SW; hull 265'x38'x71½'; 5 boilers; cyl. 26"/9'; with Porter in 1864; Sept. 2, 1864, at Morganza, La., loading troops for White River, Ark.; Aug. 21, 1865, arrived Mobile, in U. S. Government service. (*Off. Records*; FLW)

BANJO: Built in 1855 at Cincinnati; SW; 105 tons; cabin outfitted for showboat with stage at after end; at St. Paul in 1856; William Fisher, master; Red River in late 1850s; in Sept., 1860, brought up minstrel show for Gaiety Theatre in Shreveport. (FLW; W; MHO)

BANNER OF ATTAKAPAS: March 23, 1845, New Orleans-Alexandria packet; Johnson, master. (FLW)

BANNOCK CITY: Built in 1855 at Le Claire, Iowa; STW which was 17' diam. with 19' buckets; 150 tons; hull 150'x28'x5¼'; 2 boilers, 38"/22'; cyl. 13"/4'; New Orleans-Shreveport packet, 1858-62; sold to James Burdeau of St. Louis on May 22, 1863, for \$1800. (FLW; W; MHO)

BART ABLE: Built in 1864 at Louisville; SW; 758 tons; hull 206'x40'x61¼'; 3 boilers, 46"/26'; cyl. 22"/8'; machinery from the *Jesse K. Bell* of 1856; Barton Able & Company of St. Louis, owners; arrived at St. Louis on maiden trip, July 11, 1864; Symmes, master; Merchants & Peoples Line packet in the St. Louis-New Orleans trade, 1865-67; sold

to Captain Richard Sinnott in 1867 for Red River trade; New Orleans-Grand Ecore packet until 1872 when rebuilt; re-entered same trade; evidently rebuilt in 1878, because an 1878 issue of the *N. O. Democrat* contains an ad stating that the *New Bart Able*, Richard Sinnott, master, was the regular New Orleans-Grand Ecore packet; dismantled in 1879 and machinery went into Captain Sinnott's *Jesse K. Bell* of 1879. (*Louisiana Democrat*, July 1, 1868; *Picayune*, Nov. 5, 1873; *N. O. Democrat*, April 17, 1878; FLW; W; R; N; S)

BASTROP: Built in 1873 at Madison, Ind.; 285 tons; sunk in Bayou Bartholomew, La., April 24, 1879. (FLW)

BATESVILLE: Built in 1844 at Cincinnati; SW; 178 tons; Arkansas River trade and to White River and New Orleans during the cotton season. New Orleans-Alexandria packet; S. T. Smith, master. (*Planters' Banner*, 1846)

BAYOU BELLE: Built in 1855 at Murfreesville, Va.; owned by Wheeling, Va., parties; Red River trade, 1855-58. (EFAS; W; FLW)

BEAVER: Built in 1819 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 135 tons; arrived New Orleans on Feb. 21, 1820; D. Prentiss, master. New Orleans-Natchitoches packet in 1820; Jacob Black, master; second boat known to have made the trip above the rapids at Alexandria; sunk in 1821 on Red River. (FLW; W; S)

BEAVER: Built in 1832 at Pittsburgh; SW; 33 tons; 1832-34, in New Orleans and Red River trade; sunk in 1842 while in Muskingum River trade. (Ins. Underwriters Assn. list in *Louisville Journal*; FLW; S; W)

BEAVER: Built in 1843 at Louisville; 44 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans packet; Moore, master; burned, Feb. 10, 1844, on lower Mississippi; Black, master. (*Caddo Gazette*, 1843; FLW; W)

B. E. CLARK: Red River packet in 1853. (K)

BEESWING: Built in 1844 at St. Louis; SW; 133 tons; New Orleans-Minden packet; Hiram Wilson, master; May 21, 1844, arrived at New Orleans from upper Red River, re-

porting that it was very high and that Alexandria was under water, causing much sickness. (*Southern Transcript*, 1844)

BELFAST: Built in 1853 at St. Louis; SW; 781 tons; hull 280'x36'x8½'; 5 boilers; cyl. 24"/8'; Taylor, master; sunk at Brunswick Point in winter of 1858-59 on lower Mississippi River, while in Shreveport-New Orleans trade. (FLW; W; MHO)

BELLADONNA: Built in 1852 at Louisville; SW; 468 tons; hull 285'x35½'x6'; New Orleans & Bayou Sara Packet Co.; John W. Cannon, owner; Morris, master in 1853; Capt. Jefferson in 1856; in U. S. service in 1864; March 20, 1865, advertised in Natchez and New Orleans trade; with Porter in 1864; New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1866. (*Off. Records*, p. 130; FLW; S)

BELLE: Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1878. -(*N. O. Democrat*, April 17, 1878)

BELLE CREOLE: Built in 1856 at Wheeling, Va.; SW; 213 tons; hull 190'x33'x7½'; in Red River trade, 1856-61; March 1, 1861, Memphis-Cincinnati trade; W. J. Lusk, master; sunk, Jan. 31, 1864, while in Cairo-Little Rock trade; raised; at St. Louis, Feb. 20, 1864; evidently lengthened when rebuilt, as *Missouri Republican* gives her dimensions as 250'x36'x7'; with Porter on Red River in 1864. (*Off. Records*; FLW; W; EFAS)

BELLE CROOKS: Sank near Texarkana, Ark., April 16, 1892. (*St. Louis Globe Democrat*, Jan. 5, 1893)

BELLE GATES: Built in 1851 at New Albany, Indiana; SW; 278 tons; Red River trade out of New Orleans in 1851; arrived Mobile, Dec. 1, 1851; Dyche, master; returned to New Orleans in the Fall of 1852 and then New Orleans-Shreveport trade. (FLW; W)

BELLE IDA: Built in 1861 at St. Louis; STW; 133 tons; hull 122'x20'x4'; Red River packet in 1860s; rebuilt in 1865 as *Belle Ida No. 2*. (FLW; MHO)

BELLE IDA No. 2: Built in 1865; Red River packet in 1870s; last record, burned, Jan. 9, 1873, while laid up at Algiers, La. (FLW; MHO)

BELLE ROWLAND: Built in 1871 at Pittsburgh; STW; 299 tons; hull 160'x35'x4'; 2 boilers, 38"/24'; cyl. 12"/4'; Captain Rowland, principal owner; ran as a Carter Line Company packet, St. Louis-Shreveport; G. W. Rea, master; sunk at Swan Lake, Texas, on Red River, Feb. 23, 1877. (FLW; W; S; MHO; R)

BELLE SULPHUR: Red River packet in 1851; A. Carlile, master; R. C. Hutchison, clerk. (K)

BELLE OF ALTON: Built in 1858; SW; hull 235'x35'x6'; Alton & St. Louis Packet Company; Red River packet in 1859; dismantled in 1868. (FLW; EFAS)

BELLE OF ALTON: Built in 1868; hull 229'x34½'x6'; 6 boilers, 44"/26'; cyl. 24½"/7'; engines off str. *Southwester*; Alton & St. Louis Packet Co.; cost \$60,000; burned at New Orleans, March 28, 1871; rebuilt; New Orleans-Grand Ecore packet in 1871; burned at Vicksburg, Nov. 18, 1873. (FLW; W; EFAS; N; S)

BELLE OF RED RIVER: Built in 1842 at Pittsburgh; SW; 246 tons; hull 182'x31'x6½'; Shreveport-New Orleans packet; J. R. Davis, master; arrived Mobile, July 31, 1846, in New Orleans-Montgomery, Ala., "Thru-Line" trade; several trips till Sept., 1846. (*Caddo Gazette*, 1843; FLW; W; R; S)

BELLE OF SHREVEPORT: Built in 1872 at St. Louis; STW; hull 250'x43'x6½'; 4 boilers, 38"/24'; cyl. 20"/6'; St. Louis-Shreveport trade, also to New Orleans; arrived Alexandria on Aug. 23, 1873, on her 9th trip to St. Louis; Thomas W. Rea, master; Aug., 1883, bought by W. Thompson & Company of Cincinnati; sunk, off Island No. 66 in 1883 while enroute Cincinnati to New Orleans; passengers and crew rescued by str. *Kate Adams* and brought to Memphis. (FLW; W; R; S)

BELVIDERE: Built in 1848 at Cincinnati; SW; 197 tons; arrived Mobile, Oct. 2, 1850; "Thru-Line" trade; advertised, Oct. 30, 1850, for sale at New Orleans; Red River in 1850s; with Porter in 1864. (FLW; MHO; *Off. Records*)

BEN CAMPBELL: Built in 1850 at Shousetown, Pa.; SW; 287 tons; Galena & Minnesota Packet Co.; M. W. Lodwick,

master; burned at Buffalo, Iowa, on August 23, 1860; machinery went into a STW *Ben Campbell* in 1865 at Buffalo, Iowa, with hull dimensions of 130'x24'x3½'; 2 boilers, 44"/16'; cyl. 10"/3½'; dismantled. On Red River during cotton seasons. (FLW; W)

BENEFIT: Transport with Porter in 1864. (*Off. Records*)

BEN FRANKLIN: Captured on Red River by U. S. S. *Argosy*, Dec. 14, 1863; Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1868. (*Off. Records*; MHO)

BEN FRANKLIN: Built in 1869 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 261'x37½'x6'2"; 4 boilers; cyl. 21"/8'; sold to Memphis-New Orleans Packet Company in latter part of 1869; Red River in 1870. (FLW; N; R)

BERTHA: Built in 1863 at Belle Vernon, Pa.; SW; 388 tons; hull 180'x28'x5½'; 3 boilers, 38"/22'; cyl. 15"/5'; C. S. Ebaugh, owner and master; valued at \$8,000, cargo \$11,000 partly insured. Missouri and Red River trade; sunk at St. Joseph, Mo., by striking bridge pier on June 24, 1873. (FLW; W; MHO)

BERTHA BRUNNER: Built in 1873 at Cincinnati; STW; 174 tons; burned, April 10, 1879, on Bayou D'Arbonne, La. (FLW; W; MHO)

BERWICK BAY: Red River packet in C.S. naval service transporting supplies from Red River ports to Port Hudson, La., in 1862-63; captured above the mouth of Red River on Feb. 8, 1863, by the U.S. ram *Queen of the West*. (FLW; *Off. Records*; Scharf)

BESSIE F.: Built in 1881 at Cincinnati; 87 tons; hull 100'x20'x3'; one boiler. (FLW; W)

BEULAH: Built about 1860; arrived, June 12, 1860, at Mobile and adv. for Montgomery; Red River in 1866. (FLW; W; MHO)

B. F. KIMBALL: Built in 1851 at New Albany, Ind.; 312 tons; *St. Charles* raced the *B. F. Kimball* on Red River in 1853 and lost the race. (Olmsted, II, 254-94; FLW; EFAS; W)

BIG HORN: Built in 1865 at St. Louis; STW; 312 tons; hull 154'x33½'x4½'; 3 boilers, 36"/20'; cyl. 16"/4'; St. Louis-Fort Benton trade, 1865-69; Shreveport-New Orleans packet, 1870-71; J. M. Gillum, master; sunk in Bayou Bartholomew, La., April 10, 1873; cargo of lime in hold caught fire and destroyed boat. (FLW; W)

BIG HORN: Built in 1875 at New Albany, Ind.; STW; 212 tons; hull 156'x33½'x4½'; 3 boilers, 36"/20'; cyl. 16"/4'; sunk on Douglas Bar, 1882, on Red River. (FLW; W)

BILLY COLLINS: Built in 1872 at Irontown, Ohio; hull 114'x21½'x3½'; upper Red River packet; sold to Captain Cole for Selma-Montgomery, Ala., trade for \$2,000. (FLW; W; *N. O. Democrat*, April 17, 1878)

BLACK HAWK: Built in 1837; Natchez-Natchitoches packet; on Dec. 27, 1837, while enroute from Natchez to Natchitoches, exploded boilers at the mouth of Red River, blowing off all of the upper works forward of the wheels; wreck floated downstream 15 miles and sank; no record of number of passengers lost; part of the cargo and \$75,000 in specie were saved; rebuilt. (FLW; S; W; MHO; LL, p. 87)

BLACK HAWK: Built in 1838; there is a record in 1838 of a Court action of the str. *Black Hawk* suing the str. *Marmora* for damages at Shreveport, which was the first action of its kind on record. (FLW; W; MHO)

BLACK HAWK: Built in 1859; SW; 252 tons; hull 180'x34½'x5'; 3 boilers, 44"/26'; cyl. 26"/6'; St. Louis-Memphis trade, 1859-61; Silas Hart, master; sank on the Missouri River near Weston, Missouri, 1862; evidently raised, as it was a transport with Porter on Red River in 1864. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

BLACK HAWK: Admiral Porter's flagship in 1864; see special list of ironclads with Porter on Red River. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

B. L. HODGE: Built in 1857 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 889 tons; hull 176'x33'x5¼'; Natchez-Shreveport trade in 1859; C. E. Marshall, master; J. C. Graeff, clerk; sunk on Red River in May, 1864, to prevent capture by Federal troops; evidently raised, as this boat is in a photograph of New Orleans wharf in 1868. (FLW; W; R; S)

B. L. HODGE No. 2: Built in 1869; SW; hull 210'x38'x7'; evidently built out of the original *B. L. Hodge*; arrived at Norman's Landing, April 25, 1870, on her 4th trip; John Hein, master, and William Culberson, clerk; arrived Alexandria, La., on her 12th trip from New Orleans on Feb. 16, 1872; purchased by Capt. W. R. Greathouse in 1873 for New Orleans-Bends trade; new hull in 1876 and renamed *Southern Belle*. (FLW; J; W; R; S; *Louisiana Democrat*, Nov. 24, 1869)

BLOOMER: Built in 1851 at Louisville; STW; 152 tons; Red River trade, 1851-55; arrived Mobile, April 26, 1855; Boyd, master, from New Orleans in "Thru-Line" trade to Fulton, Miss., on Big Bee River; dismantled in 1858 in New Orleans Dist. Evidently rebuilt, because was on Red River, 1858-59. (FLW; W; S)

BLUE WING: Built in 1850 at Louisville; SW; 170 tons; hull 147'x22'x5'; 1850-52, Red River packet; Dec. 10, 1862, the boat was put under arrest by U. S. gunboat *Patrol* charged with "trading with enemy"; boat taken to Helena, Ark. (FLW; W; *Off. Records*)

BLUE WING No. 3: Shreveport-New Orleans packet, 1874-78. (MHO; *N. O. Democrat*, April 17, 1878)

BLUE WING: Red River trade, 1890-92; STW; 200 bale boat; H. M. Carter, master; fate unknown. (W; R)

BOGUE HOUMA: Built in 1839 at Wheeling, Va.; SW; 114 tons; New Orleans-Alexandria packet, 1840-41; Peter Delmau, master; sank on Red River in the late Fall of 1841; wreck removed by U. S. snagboat *C. W. Howell* in 1894. (FLW; *N. O. Bee*, Nov. 4, 1841; USED, 1894, Vol. III, p. 1435)

BOIS D'ARC: Built in 1843 at Louisville; SW; 182 tons; New Orleans-Shreveport packet; John Smoker, master; sunk on Bayou Plaquemine, La., Dec. 5, 1847. (*Caddo Gazette*, 1843; FLW; W; S)

BONITA: Built in 1855; Shreveport-New Orleans packet; D. Long, master; burned, 2 miles below Bayou Sara, La., May 7, 1860; valued at \$8,000. (FLW; W)

BONNIE LEE: Built in 1875 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 315 tons; hull 165'x30'x3½'; Noah Scovell, master; exploded boilers and sunk on lower Mississippi River, Aug. 9, 1880. (FLW; W; R; MHO)

BOONESLICK: Built in 1833 at Pittsburgh; SW; 295 tons; hull 158'x24½'x8'; built for Missouri River trade; July 1, 1834, passed Memphis from St. Louis to New Orleans; also Red River trade; sunk Oct. 24, 1834, by collision with str. *Mo. Belle* while enroute to St. Louis. (FLW; W)

BOSSIER: Built in 1869; STW; Red River packet; burned while laid up at New Orleans, Nov. 16, 1870. (FLW; W)

BOSSIER: Built in 1871 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 115 tons; Red River packet; condemned and dismantled in New Orleans Dist. in 1876. (FLW; W; J; S)

BRADISH JOHNSON: Built in 1869 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 219 tons; hull 180'x33½'x6½'; 3 boilers, 40"/28'; cyl. 20"/5'; Red River and New Orleans packet trade; W. S. Bassett, master; arrived Mobile, May 5, 1876, for few trips in "Thru-Line" trade. (FLW; W; S)

BRAVO: Natchez-Alexandria, La., packet in 1833; M. Welch, master. (*Alexandria Gazette*, April, 1833)

BRIAN BOROIHME (named for Ireland's High King, Brian Boru or Boroihme): Built in 1836 at Louisville; SW; 187 tons; hull 170'x27½'x5 4/10'; in Dec., 1836, arrived New Orleans from Coates' Bluff with cotton; Ruth Edwards, master; Louisville-New Orleans trade in 1837; listed in Insurance Underwriters Ass'n. as sunk in 1842. (*Louisville Journal*; FLW; W; S)

BRIDE: Built in 1848 at Louisville; SW; 295 tons; exploded boilers at Cloutierville, La., in 1851. (FLW; W)

BRILLIANT: New Orleans-Alexandria packet in 1851; Jesse Hart, master. (*Picayune*, Sept. 17, 1851)

BROWN DICK: Built in 1855 at McKeesport, Pa.; 56 tons; upper Red River packet. (FLW)

BUFFALO: Red River packet in 1845. (MHO)

CADDO: Built in 1840; Shreveport-New Orleans trade; Graham, master. (S; W)

CADDO: Built in 1848 at Louisville; SW; 188 tons; left Shreveport, April 13, 1851, and arrived New Orleans, April 16, 1851; sunk, Feb. 14, 1852, on lower Mississippi River. (FLW; W; S)

CADDO No. 2: Built in 1851 at Louisville; SW; 274 tons; Red River trade, 1851-60; arrived Mobile, Jan. 7, 1860; Capt. Marshall, master; Mobile-Tuscaloosa packet in 1861-62; George Kirk, master and owner; advertised in Shreveport *South-Western*, May 23, 1866, for special trip to St. Louis. (FLW; W; S; MHO)

CADDO BELLE: In New Orleans-Shreveport trade 1857; sank on Red River in Sept., 1858. (S; EFAS; W; MHO)

CAMDEN: Shreveport-New Orleans trade in 1859. (MHO)

CAMDEN: Built in 1869; 103 tons; condemned at New Orleans in 1869. (FLW)

CANTON: Built in 1834 at Pittsburgh; SW; 102 tons; Pittsburgh-Louisville trade, 1834-37; then Red River; arrived Natchitoches, Dec. 15, 1840, from New Orleans via Natchez. (*Constitutional Advocate*, Dec. 16, 1840; FLW)

CAPITOL: Built in 1853 at Louisville; SW; 448 tons; hull 285'x30'x7'; 5 boilers; New Orleans-Bends trade; Bayou Sara Packet Company, owners; in Red River trade in 1850s; later owned by Capt. J. D. Clark of Memphis & New Orleans Packet Company; sold to Bohle & Huse Ice Company; a few days before the Battle of Memphis she towed the unfinished Confederate ram *Arkansas* to the Yazoo River where the ram was completed. The *Capitol* laid up in Yazoo River, was stripped and burned in July, 1863, with 10 other large SW strs. to prevent falling into hands of U. S. fleet. (FLW; W)

CAR OF COMMERCE: Built in 1827 at Westport, Ky.; SW; 160 tons; Capt. Reed, master; single engine; exploded boilers on Red River in 1828; sunk at Mussick Ferry on lower Missouri River, May 6, 1832. (*Austin Papers*, II, 83; FLW; LL)

CAROLINE: Built in 1844 at Cincinnati; SW; 271 tons; New Orleans and Red River trade in 1844; Carroll, master; last record, arrived Mobile, Dec. 18, 1844, for Ala. River trade. (FLW)

CAROLINE: Built in 1863 at Madison, Ind.; SW; 373 tons; W. D. Bateman, master; sunk on Red River, May 15, 1870. (FLW; W; *Louisiana Democrat*, Nov. 25, 1868)

CARRIE A. THORNE: Built in 1871 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; 247 tons; in Red River trade, 1871-73. (FLW; J; S)

CARRIE CONVERSE: Built in 1870; STW; Dec., 1870, in New Orleans-Red River trade; sunk, Jan. 11, 1872, at Bayou Sara, La.; valued at \$10,000; G. W. Rea, master. (FLW; W; MHO; R)

CARRIE JACOBS: Sank on Red River in 1864. (NA)

CARRIE POOLE: Built in 1865; Noah Scovell, master; burned upper works while laid up at Algiers, La., in 1870. (FLW; S)

CARRIE V. KOUNTZ: Built in 1869 at Pittsburgh; STW; hull 187'x40'x4½'; 3 boilers, 36"/26'; Hartuppee patented engines, cyl. 12" high pressure and 26" low pressure, with a 5' stroke; arrived St. Louis, March 25, 1869, for Missouri River trade; burned upper works at St. Louis, March 29, 1869, in levee fire; Dan. Brady, master; rebuilt; Feb. 16, 1870, in collision with str. *Tom Jasper*; both boats repaired; in Red River trade in 1870s; H. J. Brinker, Sr., master. (FLW; W; R; MHO)

CASPIAN: Built in 1832 at Cincinnati; SW; 199 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans trade in 1837; arrived Mobile, Nov. 21, 1838, for Ala. River trade; Knight, master; returned to New Orleans, May, 1839; sunk on Red River in 1840. (S; W; FLW)

CASPIAN: Built in 1841; hull 181'x27'x6'; evidently built out of *Caspian* of 1832; sunk, Dec. 11, 1845, near Island No. 25 while in Red River trade. (W; FLW)

CASPIAN: Built in 1851 at West Elizabeth, Pa.; SW; 248 tons; Alexandria-New Orleans packet; Dunn, master; sunk on Red River, March 12, 1854. (*Louisiana Democrat*, 1852; FLW; W)

CAVALIER: Red River boat in 1830s; St. Louis-Galena trade in 1836-37. (NA)

CELESTE: Built in 1864 at Cincinnati; Red River in 1868-69; at Alexandria, Oct. 23, 1869, as reported in log of str. *Gladiola*; sunk by ice, Dec. 24, 1872, at Island No. 35 on the Mississippi River. (FLW; S; MHO; *Louisiana Democrat*, May 26, 1869)

C. E. SATTERLEE: Built in 1889 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 254 tons; hull 162'x30'x4½'; 2 boilers; Texas and Pacific R. R., owners; sunk, Oct. 29, 1893, at Rock River Bend on Red River. (FLW; W; N)

CHAMPION No. 3 (Also referred to as NEW CHAMPION): Built in 1856 at Cincinnati; towboat; 196 tons; hull 145'x31'x4'; with Porter in 1864; sunk on Red River, 1864; raised, as listed as a U.S.Q.M. Dept. wharfbat in 1865; offered for sale. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

CHAMPION No. 5: Built in 1862; towboat; sunk on the Red River in 1864 while in U. S. service. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

CHAMPION No. 9: Sunk by Confederate battery under command of Captain Bradford, C. S. A., in April, 1864, just above Colfax, with a loss of 150 Negro soldiers. (*Off. Records*)

CHARLES H. DURFEE: Built in 1869 at Pittsburgh; STW; 398 tons; hull 178'x35'x5'; 3 boilers, 36"/24'; cyl. 15"/5'; Missouri River packet; engines off str. *Benton*; Red River packet in 1870s; Joseph A. Aiken, master; burned at New Orleans, March 20, 1870; rebuilt; sunk, Dec. 18, 1878, on the Atchafalaya River; valued at \$8,000. (FLW; W; S; MHO)

CHARLESTON: Built in 1830 at Big Sandy, Ky.; 184 tons; in 1835, brought the first two white women to Shreveport; Ruth Edwards, master. (MHO; W; FLW)

CHAS. G. CARROLL: Red River in 1883. (S)

CHAS. MORGAN: Listed as arriving at Shreveport, April 25, 1855, from New Orleans; J. Y. Lawless, master. (MHO)

CHEROKEE: Built in 1873 at Cincinnati; STW; 656 tons; hull 215'x39½'x6'; 3 boilers; cyl. 18½"/5'; Geo. C. Wolf, master; machinery from str. *Emma No. 3*; sunk at Silver Lake on the Ark. River, Jan. 3, 1873; raised; in 1881, brought first steel rails to Alexandria, La.; dismantled in 1886. (*Town Talk*, March 17, 1933; FLW; W)

CHEROKEE: St. Louis-Shreveport packet in 1894. (USED; 1894, p. 1436)

CHESAPEAKE: Built in 1831 at Marietta, Ohio; SW; 154 tons; sunk in 1837; Capt. Griffin, master. (FLW; S; W)

CHOCTAW: Built in 1833 at Pittsburgh; SW; 107 tons; arrived New Orleans in June, 1836, from Caddo Prairie. (S; FLW)

CHOCTAW: Built in 1851 at Louisville; SW; 133 tons; sunk on Red River, Jan. 29, 1854. (FLW; W)

CITY BELLE: Built in 1854 at Murraysville, Va.; SW; 215 tons; hull 179'x35'x5'; built for the Minnesota Packet Company; M. W. Lodwick, master; purchased by U. S. Q. M. Department in 1861; converted into a Federal hospital boat in 1863; arrived at Memphis, Jan. 24, 1864, with 500 sick and wounded U. S. soldiers from Vicksburg; Major C. R. Kimball in charge; reports 1800 sick soldiers to be brought out of Vicksburg area; U. S. transport service with Porter on Red River in 1864. On May 4, 1864, while enroute to Alexandria with an Ohio regiment was captured and destroyed by C.S.A. forces commanded by General Stafford, about thirty miles above Fort De Russy; only a half dozen Federals escaped death. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

CITY OF CAMDEN: Built in 1893 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 298 tons; hull 175'x35'x5'; Ouachita River trade for few seasons; then sold to Red River Line; operated in Red River trade for several seasons; then returned to Ouachita River trade until 1906; fastest time for a stern-wheeler between New Orleans and Camden, Ark.; Alabama River trade from 1906 to 1908, when blown upon Mobile mud-flats by storm; dismantled in 1910; engines and woodwork of cabin used by Captain Edgar of Mobile to build the str. *Swan*. (FLW; W; R; N; WJ)

CITY OF LITTLE ROCK: Built in 1893 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 326 tons; hull 145'x29'x5'; 2 boilers; cyl. 14"/5½'; sunk, Jan. 14, 1894, at Moultrie Landing above Hurricane Bluff, La., on the Red River. (FLW; R; W)

CITY OF MONROE: Built in 1886 at Freedom, Pa., as str. *Nettie Quill* for Alabama River trade; STW; hull

1791½'x33½'x5'; cotton guards; sold in 1890 to New Orleans parties and renamed *City of Monroe*; Red River trade for several seasons; then in Ouachita River trade until wrecked by storm at New Orleans in 1915. (FLW; W; N; R; WJ)

CITY OF SHREVEPORT: Built in 1898 at Mobile as steamer *Lucille*; STW; 176 tons; hull 164'x30'x4'; Wm. Eammes, master and owner; sold in 1909 to Red River parties and renamed *City of Shreveport*; George L. White, master. (FLW; W; R; N)

CLARA BELLE: Built in 1860 at Louisville; SW; 200 tons; hull 139'x28'x5½'; 1863, Missouri River packet to Cambridge, Mo.; with Porter on Red River in May, 1864; July 24, 1864, sunk on White River by Confederate battery; then in U. S. transport service. (*Off. Records*; FLW)

CLEONA: Built in 1850 at West Elizabeth, Pa.; SW; 201 tons; Red River packet in 1853-54; burned, Sept. 30, 1854, on Red River. (FLW; K)

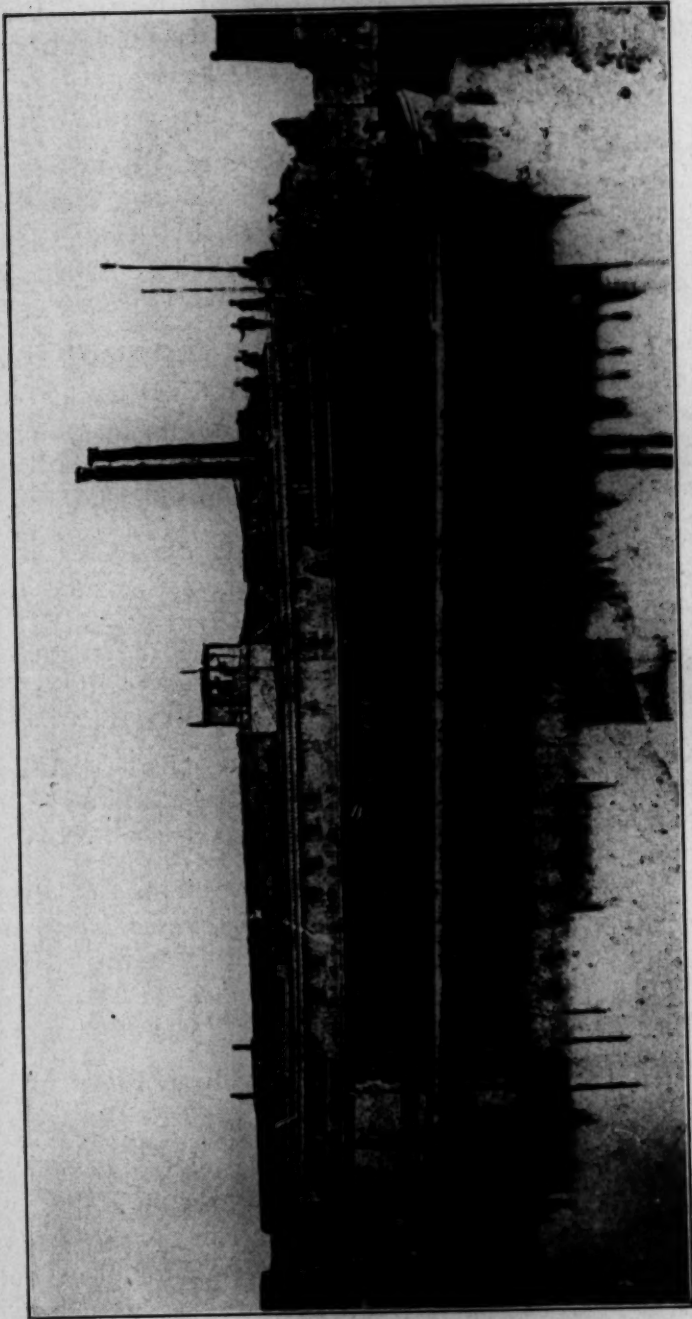
CLIFFORD: Built in 1871 at Madison, Ind.; 121 tons; in 1872 in Shreveport-New Orleans trade. (FLW; J; S; W)

C. N. KRAFT: Built in 1882 at Pittsburgh; STW; hull 102'x20'x3'; sunk 8 miles above Little Rock, Ark., on Oct. 12, 1886; raised; later on upper Red River. (FLW; W)

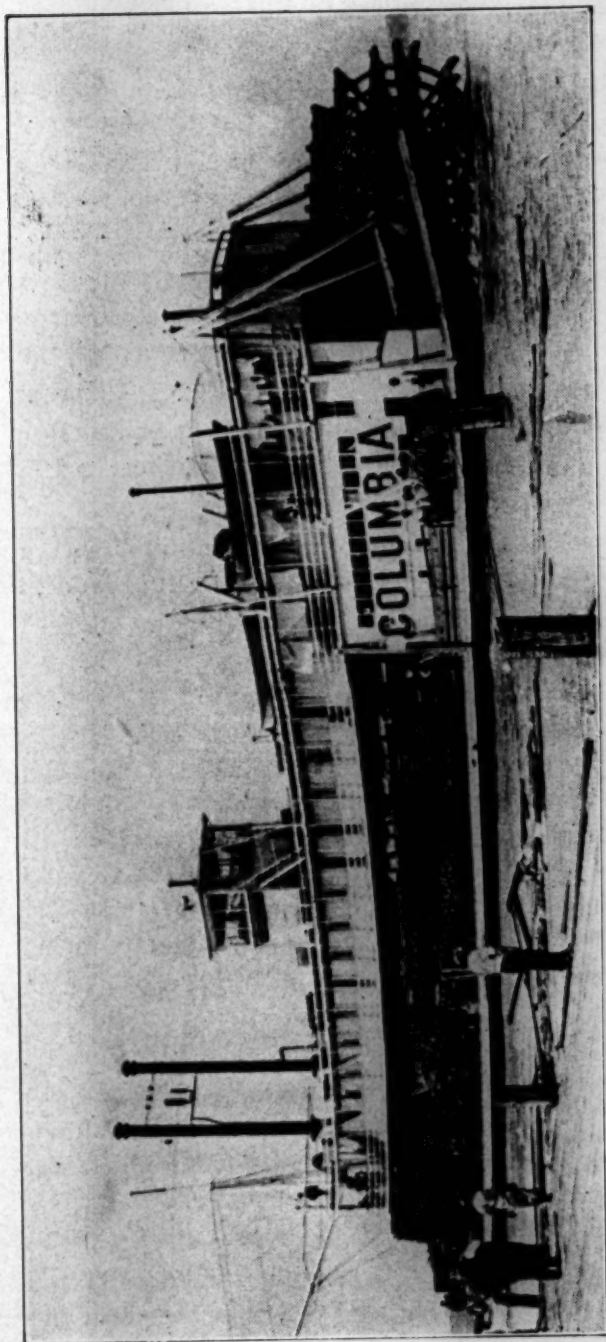
COL. A. P. KOUNS: Built in 1874 at Cincinnati; 309 tons; sunk on Red River, March, 1878; the *Maria Louise* arrived at New Orleans, April 17, 1878, with a barge loaded with freight from the wreck of the *Kouns*. (FLW; W; N. O. *Democrat*, April 17, 1878)

COLONEL COWLES: With Porter on Red River in 1864. (*Off. Records*)

COL. T. G. SPARKS: Built in 1893 at Paducah, Ky.; STW; 326 tons; S. J. Dudley, master; built for Capt. S. L. James, lessee of Louisiana Penitentiary, to transport prisoners and prison made goods at Baton Rouge; cabin deck enclosed with iron bars where convicts enroute to prison were quartered; sunk at St. Gabriel, La., on March 19, 1898; all of crew except licensed officers were convicts; engines



STEAMER COL. A. P. KOUNS



STEAMER COLUMBIA

originally from the *Sam J. Hale*, then used on the *G. W. Sentell* until she burned, when they were placed on the *Sparks*. (FLW; W; R)

COLUMBIA: Built in 1894 at Madison, Ind.; STW; hull 163'x33'x31½'; New Orleans-Bends trade; New Orleans-Shreveport packet owned by Carter Packet Company; E. G. Carter, master; burned at New Orleans, Sept. 20, 1909. (FLW; R; WJ; *New Orleans Morning World*, 1908)

COMET: Built about 1855 at Pittsburgh; STW; St. Louis-Alton trade in 1850s; went south and arrived at Shreveport, Aug. 2, 1858; wrecked in wind storm near Memphis. (MHO; W; NA)

COMPROMISE: Built in 1850 at Monongahela, Pa.; SW; 270 tons; New Orleans-Natchitoches packet in 1850s. (FLW; W; EFAS)

CONCORD: First freight boat from Cincinnati with government supplies for Fort Towson in 1840; Hildreth, master. (MHO)

CONCORDIA: Built in 1912 at Paducah, Ky.; STW; 156 tons; sunk, June 7, 1913, near Clayton, La., on Tensas River while doing relief work; Chief Clerk A. D. Primm and 12 Negroes drowned; raised in July, 1913; Red River trade in 1913-14; sold to Royal Route Company of Natchez in 1914 and renamed *Uncle Oliver* in honor of Hon. Oliver Wilds, father of Capt. Ollie K. Wilds, Supt. of Royal Route Company; dismantled at Vicksburg, about 1924. (FLW; R; N; WJ, Nov. 5, 1912, July 12, 1913, June 10, 1933)

CONSTITUTION (temporary name for Str. CITY OF MEMPHIS): Built in 1857 at Pittsburgh; SW; carried 2050 tons; hull 301'x36'x8'; 6 boilers, 46"/30'; cyl. 33"/8'; paddle wheels 45' diam.; buckets 12' wide; W. J. Kountz and Company, Pittsburgh, owners; with Porter in 1864; exploded boilers 30 miles below Memphis, May 31, 1866; wreck towed to St. Louis and dismantled. (*Off. Records*; FLW)

COOSA: Built in 1863 at Louisville; STW; 191 tons; sank in 1865; rebuilt in 1866; STW; reported sunk on Falls above Alexandria, La., Dec. 27, 1867; evidently raised, as reported burned at mouth of Licking River on the Ohio, Sept. 7, 1869; total loss. (FLW; W)

COOSA BELLE: Built in 1855 at Louisville; SW; 229 tons; hull 194'x33'x6'; arrived at Mobile, Nov. 18, 1855; George H. Cloudes, master and owner; Ala. River trade; in Red River trade, 1858; sunk, April 25, 1860, at Bridgeport, Ala., on the Ala. River; 667 barrels lime and 36 bales cotton in hold destroyed at time of fire. (FLW; W)

CORA: Built in 1845 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 179 tons; in 1846 Shreveport-New Orleans packet; P. F. Kimball, master; sunk on Missouri River, May, 1850; wreck dismantled. (*Red River Republican*, 1846; FLW; W)

CORNIE BRANDON: Red River in 1881; sank. (S)

CORNIE DEAN: First noted as sunk on Red River, Dec. 13, 1884. (FLW)

CORREO: Built in 1836 at New Albany, Ind.; 66 tons; March 23, 1845, New Orleans-Alexandria packet; Carrere, master. (FLW)

COTE JOYOUSE: Natchitoches-New Orleans trade by Cane and Little rivers; P. F. Kimball, master. (*Southern Transcript*, 1844)

COTILE: Red River in 1866. (S)

COTTON PLANT: Built in 1843 at Cincinnati; SW; 122 tons; sunk, May 29, 1845, while enroute from New Orleans with gov't. supplies for Fort Towson, Indian Territory, on upper Red River. (FLW; W; LL, p. 291)

COTTON VALLEY: Built in 1876 at Portsmouth, Ohio; SW; 401 tons; Red River Trans. Co. of New Orleans, owners; Mart H. Kouns, master; sunk, Dec. 1, 1878, in collision with str. *Chas. Morgan* at Brunner's Point opposite Donaldsonville, La.; then valued at \$18,000. *Note:* The C. & N. O. packet *Chas. Morgan* would run away from her rudders and sheer into a boat coming upstream. She was the first wooden boat to do this caper; she had about 10 collisions during her career. The *Chas. Morgan* was built in 1874 in Cincinnati. SW; 315'x43'x7½'. She never sheered when approaching a bridge. Capt. Wooldridge states, "Just one of those magnetic attractions that science could never explain." (FLW; W)

COUNTESS: Built about 1855; New Orleans-Shreveport; George C. Wilson, master; perhaps first boat by this name. (*Picayune*, April 11, 1861; FLW; S)

COUNTESS: Built in 1864 at Paducah, Ky.; STW; 266 tons; hull 170'x36'x5'; 2 boilers; sunk, March 13, 1864, on falls above Alexandria, La., fleeing from Porter's fleet; George C. Wilson, master; U. S. Gov't. raised her and she was rebuilt; arrived at Mobile, Sept. 13, 1865, to load captured Confederate cotton; Chas. Sweet, master; sunk in 1868. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

COURTLAND: Built in 1826 at Cincinnati; 214 tons; Alexandria-New Orleans, 1826-30; Edgerton, master. (FLW)

COVEA: Sank on Red River in 1869; raised; repaired. (NA)

C. R. CUMMINGS: Shreveport-Fulton, Ark., packet in 1894. (USED, 1894, p. 1436)

CREOLE: Built about 1839; when enroute from Natchitoches to New Orleans with cotton, 100 passengers and \$100,000 of specie, caught fire, Feb. 22, 1841, at mouth of Red River, ran into bank which caved in bow, causing her to sink in channel; cargo, specie and many passengers lost; burned to water's edge; total loss. (LL, p. 173)

CREOLE: Built in 1847 at Louisville; 122 tons; this boat perhaps was built out of the *Creole* of 1839; Alexandria-New Orleans packet; C. H. Wilson, master. (*Western Democrat*, Nov. 30, 1848; FLW)

CREOLE: Built in 1855 at Louisville; 146 tons; listed in New Orleans-Shreveport in 1857; C. H. Wilson, master. (FLW; MHO; EFAS)

CRICKET: Built in 1860 at Pittsburgh; STW; 156 tons; hull 154'x33'x5'; tinclad gunboat, 1861-65; Porter's flagship on upper Red River; sold by U. S. Gov't., Aug. 17, 1865; arrived Mobile, March 12, 1867; Smith, master. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

CUBA: Built in 1851 at Brownsville, Pa.; SW; 157 tons; 1851-55, Red River trade; sunk, Dec. 8, 1856; was then in Louisville-Nashville trade; machinery was salvaged. (FLW; W)

CUBA: New Orleans and Red River packet in 1864; W. T. Boardman, master; H. J. Dye, clerk; reported in *Official Records* as on Cumberland River in Nov., 1864, in Federal service; in Red River trade, 1866-67; John Shute, master. (MHO; S; FLW; *Off. Records*, p. 603)

CUMANCHE: In New Orleans-Shreveport trade in 1841; J. V. Thompson, master. (*N. O. Bee*, Nov. 4, 1841)

DACOTAH: Built in 1879 at Pittsburgh; STW; 956 tons; hull 252'x48½'x5½'; 4 boilers, 42"/26'; cyl. 18"/7'; July 29, 1884, arrived Kansas City, Mo., with 16,139 sacks of wheat and 398 packages of sundry freight; largest single load out of Missouri River; Geo. Keith, master; Dec. 3, 1889, arrived from Red River, La., with 1138 bales cotton and 12,265 sacks of cottonseed which was a larger load than brought out by the str. *Jesse K. Bell* in 1888; W. T. Scovell, master; dismantled, 1893, at Jeffersonville, Ind.; machinery and cabin put on str. *Imperial* in 1893. (FLW; W; N; R; WJ)

DANIEL O'CONNELL: Built in 1833 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 198 tons; June, 1834, arrived New Orleans from Campti, La., on Red River with 31 bales of cotton and an alligator 17' long; in 1835-37 in Louisville-Memphis trade; ran afoul of the *William Bayard*, Dec. 18, 1837, sinking *Bayard* and all people aboard lost; sunk, March 13, 1838, 7 miles below Princeton, Miss., on the Mississippi River. (FLW; W; S; LL)

DANUBE: Built in 1877 at Cincinnati; STW; 232 tons; Red River Line, 1878-90; Thorne, master; sank, near Natchez, June 9, 1891; raised and rebuilt; listed as a New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1894; photographed with *Imperial* at New Orleans on March 22, 1895; last record, broke her wheel shaft on Atchafalaya River and towed to New Orleans by tug *Will H. Wood*, March 14, 1896. (NA; R; N; WJ; MHO; USED, 1894, p. 1436)

DAVID WATTS: Built in 1864 at Paducah, Ky.; SW; 381 tons; St. Louis-Alton trade; on Red River in 1868; 1869-70, St. Louis-Tennessee River trade; sunk at Price's Landing on Mississippi River above Cairo, Ill., Aug. 27, 1870. (FLW; W)

DAWN: Built in 1875 at Madison, Ind.; STW; 169 tons; hull 160'x32'x4'; cyl. 12½"/4'; machinery off str. *Era No. 12*; last record, sank on Red River in 1878; the New Orleans *Democrat* states that "the T. F. Eckert arrived yesterday with the boilers, engines, doctor and a lot of other stuff from the wreck of the *Dawn*." (FLW; W; S; N. O. *Democrat*, April 17, 1878)

D. C. HORTON: Built in 1865; STW; 140 tons; first record for sale by U. S. Gov't., July 29, 1865; sunk on Red River, Oct. 18, 1865. (FLW; W; *Off. Records*)

DEDE: Built in 1856 at Algiers, La.; 90 tons; listed as in Red River trade in 1856. (MHO; W; FLW)

DE KALB: Built in 1836 at East Liverpool, Ohio; SW; 125 tons; Memphis-Little Rock trade, 1837-40; Red River trade in 1840; arrived Natchitoches from Natchez, Dec. 16, 1840. (*Constitutional Advocate*, Dec. 16, 1840; FLW)

DELAWARE: Built in 1851 at Cincinnati; SW; 501 tons; hull 220'x34'x7'; 3 boilers; cyl. 18"/6½'; on Aug. 2, 1858, arrived at Shreveport with 173 tons of iron rails for the Shreveport, Vicksburg & Texas railroad. (MHO; W; FLW)

DELAWARE: Built in 1862 at Pittsburgh; SW; 403 tons; hull 203'x30'x5'; 3 boilers, 40"/22'; cyl. 15"/5'; Red River packet; sold to U. S. Gov't., Nov. 17, 1862, for "Tin Clad Gunboat" on Kanawha and Ohio rivers; 1865, in St. Louis-Cairo, Ill., trade; Ferrell, master; burned while on marine ways at Cincinnati; total loss. (FLW; W)

DEMOINE: Built in 1838 at Pittsburgh; 93 tons; New Orleans-Shreveport packet; P. Lindley, master; dismantled in 1844. (*Red River Whig*, Feb. 26, 1842; FLW)

DE SMET: Built in 1872; SW; hull 188'x43'x5½'; 3 boilers, 38"/22'; cyl. 17½"/5'; St. Louis-Fort Benton trade in 1872; St. Louis-Shreveport trade in 1873; Joseph LaBarge, master and owner; named in honor of Father De Smet, S. J., Catholic missionary among Western Indians; sold to Eagle Packet Co. of St. Louis in 1874; burned, June 12, 1886, opposite Newport, Ark.; valued at \$4,000. (FLW; W; D; Chittenden, II, 431)

DE SOTO: Built in 1842 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 260 tons; Alexandria-Natchitoches trade; P. Lenview, master; March 1, 1844, collided with str. *Buckeye* at mouth of Atchafalaya River with loss of about 8 people; Peter Delmau, master. (*Red River Whig*, Feb. 26, 1842; FLW; LL, p. 242)

DE SOTO: Built in 1861; SW; Red River packet, 1861-62; converted into Confed. gunboat in 1862 and renamed *General Lyon* (see *General Lyon*). (FLW; *Louisiana Democrat*, July 1, 1861; *Off. Records*)

DES ARC: On June 19, 1897, the Red River str. *Des Arc* was aground, high and dry, just above the wreck of the *Gladiola* near Campti; the *Valley Queen* succeeded in pulling her into deep water; Jan. 28, 1893, was a regular Vicksburg-Sunflower River packet. (WJ, June 19, 1897; W; R; *Town Talk*, June 20, 1897)

DES MOINES: Built in 1857 at Madison, Ind.; SW; 298 tons; Keokuk Packet Company; J. D. Malin, master, 1857-61; with Porter in 1864. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

D. H. PIKE: Built in 1884 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 465.75 tons; hull 199.6'x35.6'x5'; St. Louis-Peoria packet; Eagle Packet Co., owners; sank on Illinois River in Nov., 1893; raised and recommissioned; chartered in June, 1894, by Sharff, Bernheimer Grocery Co. of St. Louis to take a cargo of groceries to Knox's Point on Red River; ultimate fate unknown. (FLW; USED, 1894, p. 1436)

DIADEM: Built in 1860 at Pittsburgh; 218 tons; hull 154'x33'x4 $\frac{2}{3}$ '; Pittsburgh-St. Louis Packet Company; Rogers, master; bought by U. S. Gov't., June 20, 1861; with Porter on Red River in 1864; sunk by ice at St. Louis, Jan. 13, 1866; J. Wolf, master; valued at \$2,000. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

DIANA: Built in 1857 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; hull 270'x37 $\frac{1}{2}$ 'x7'; cyl. 28"/9'; cabin 220' long, 16' wide; Texas 82' long; 20 staterooms; hull built by Howards; cabin by H. McClaren & Co.; E. T. Sturgeon, master; Louisville-New Orleans trade until the outbreak of the war; with Porter on Red River in 1864; purchased by Memphis parties after war and renamed *Rosalie Judson*. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

DICK BLANTON: Built about 1863; sunk on Red River, May 30, 1864, by Confederate forces to prevent capture by U. S. troops. (FLW; W)

DICK NASH: Jefferson-Shreveport packet in 1859. (MHO)

DIXIE: Built in 1860 at Louisville; 106 tons; Captain M. N. Wood, owner; sunk on Red River, Oct. 24, 1860; evidently raised and rebuilt, because it was used as a Confederate transport during the Civil War and reported at Shreveport, Oct. 21, 1869. (FLW, from log of the steamboat *Gladiola*; W; MHO; *Louisiana Democrat*, Oct. 17, 1860)

D. L. TALLY: Built in 1870 at Cincinnati; in Oct., 1870, regular Red River packet, Natchez to Shreveport; Frank Smith, master; W. F. Rudolph, clerk; Nov. 30, 1870, Red River Packet Company steamer in New Orleans-Shreveport trade; W. C. Harrison, master; Jan., 1872, New Orleans-Shreveport Packet Line; W. C. Harrison, master; arrived Mobile, Jan. 21, 1873, for Alabama River trade; F. M. Johnson, master; burned, March 29, 1895, at Mobile; dismantled. (FLW; W; J; S)

DOLPHIN: Built in 1837 at Pittsburgh; SW; 156 tons; New Orleans-Shreveport packet; S. W. Vandegrift, master. (*Southern Transcript*, May 29, 1844; FLW)

DON LOUIS: Small upper river packet in the 80's. (W; MHO)

DORA: Built in 1860 at Pittsburgh as str. *Emma Duncan*; SW; 293 tons; hull 180'x34'x5'; 3 boilers; cyl. 24"/6'; Red River packet, 1868-71; M. W. Lodwick, master; condemned at New Orleans in 1871. (FLW; W; MHO)

DORA MARTIN: Built in 1864 for Merchants & People's Line; STW; while enroute from Shreveport to New Orleans, sank at Blau's Bluff on Red River; raised; Shreveport-Jefferson packet in 1867; Capt. John Hein & Company, owners. (FLW; W; S; MHO)

DOT: Built in 1862; Red River packet; on May 17, 1863, Confederate forces used str. *Dot* to ferry troops across Black River, then burned her. (FLW; W; *Off. Records*)



STEAMER D. L. TALLY

DOUBLOON: Built in 1859 at Cincinnati; SW; 294 tons; Nov. 22, 1859, adv. in *Mobile Register* as leaving New Orleans for Shreveport, Hurricane and Carolina Bluffs every alternate Tuesday at 5:00 P. M. for the 1859-60 season; W. C. Harrison, master; sunk on Red River, May, 1864, to prevent capture by U. S. forces; evidently raised, as she arrived at Mobile, Dec. 23, 1866, in "Thru-Line" trade; New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1867; burned at New Orleans, June 24, 1867, in the New Basin Canal. (FLW; EFAS; J; S; MHO)

DOVER: Built in 1888 at Nashville, Tenn.; STW; 42 tons; hull 125'x20'x3'; Shreveport-Jefferson packet, 1880-92. (FLW; W; MHO)

DR. BATEY: Converted into C.S.A. gunboat at Shreveport in 1863 and participated in the capture of the *U. S. Indianola*. See the record of the C.S.A. gunboat *William H. Webb*. (*Off. Records*; Scharf)

DR. BUFFINGTON: New Orleans-Grand Ecore packet; J. C. Dowty, master. (*Louisiana Democrat*, May 25, 1858; FLW; EFAS; W; S)

D. R. CARROLL: Built in 1858 at Louisville; SW; hull 175'x34'x6'; Alexandria-New Orleans packet; Wm. Kimball, master. (*Louisiana Democrat*, May 25, 1858; FLW; EFAS; W; S)

DROVER: Sunk in May, 1864, at Shreveport to prevent capture and block channel. (*Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 30, 1864)

D. S. HAMILTON: In 1872 Alexandria-New Orleans packet. (J; S)

DUCK RIVER: Built in 1847 at Cincinnati; 152 tons; New Orleans, Red and Duck River packet; S. Applegate, master. (*Commercial Bulletin*, June, 1849; FLW; W; S)

DUKE: Built in 1853 at Cincinnati; SW; 348 tons; hull 179½'x31'x7'; Cincinnati-New Orleans trade in 1854; Wm. Hamilton, master; 1857-59, New Orleans-Natchitoches packet; S. Applegate, master; burned on Tenn. River, Nov. 3, 1864, along with str. *Arcola* and others. (EFAS; FLW; W; S; *Off. Records*)

DUROC: Built in 1847 at Louisville; SW; 220 tons; St. Louis-New Orleans trade, Sept. 25, 1847; rebuilt at Louisville in 1850; 220 tons; Red River trade, 1850-53; sunk, March 10, 1854, three miles above Natchez. (FLW; W)

EARLY BIRD: Built in 1867 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; 174 tons; arrived Mobile, Jan. 7, 1868, in "Thru-Line" trade; Red River in 1869. (FLW; W)

E. B. WHEELOCK: Built in 1889 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 254 tons; hull 160'x30'x4 $\frac{3}{4}$ '; sunk, May 3, 1895, at Snaggy Point, La., on Red River. (FLW; R; N; WJ)

ECHO: Exploded boilers at Bayou Sara, La., May 20, 1851, killing three of crew and wounding five; evidently rebuilt, as burned with str. *Sun* on Red River in 1853 at Red River Landing. (FLW; W; LL, p. 284)

ECONOMIST: Built in 1868 at Pittsburgh; 197 tons; Red River packet. (FLW; W)

EDINSBURGH: Built in 1854 at Louisville; SW; 393 tons; hull 210'x30'x5'; Red River trade in late 1850s; in 1865 in Cincinnati-Wheeling trade; S. L. Thompson, master; sunk, May 1, 1873, 40 miles below Pine Bluff on Ark. River. (FLW; MHO; EFAS)

EDW. HOWARD: Built in 1852; hull 280'x35'x8'; Red River packet in 1858; converted into C.S.A. gunboat and renamed *Gen. Polk*; sank on Yazoo River, July 15, 1863. (FLW; MHO)

E. F. DIX: Built in 1864 at Madison, Ind.; SW; hull 266'x40'x5 $\frac{1}{2}$ '; sunk on Red River when she hit the wreck of the U. S. gunboat *Eastport* on June 28, 1865. (*Mississippi Democrat*, July 10, 1865; FLW)

EFFORT: Built in 1855 at Algiers, La.; 184 tons; listed as arriving at Shreveport in 1858; McMiller, master. (MHO; W; FLW)

ELEANOR: Built in 1858 at Cincinnati; 258 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1859; *Louisiana Democrat* of Oct. 17, 1860, states that the new str. *Eleanor* made fast time between New Orleans and Alexandria, beating the *Dixie* and the *Homer*. (MHO; W; FLW)

ELECTRA: Built in 1897 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; hull 170'x35'x51½'; 3 boilers; staterooms named for flowers; Red River Line; Geo. L. White, master. Sold to Burke Line of Mobile; renamed *Sunny South* in 1914; capsized on Mobile Bay, May 6, 1916, when enroute to New Orleans to new owners; Capt. Matt Jackson, master at that time. (R; N; W; WJ, May 12, 1916)

ELENORA: Built in 1864; SW; sunk, 12 miles below Shreveport, in 1864; Bob Watson, master; raised and rebuilt. (See *Elenora* of 1865). (FLW)

ELENORA: Built in 1864-65; SW; hull 155'x34'x5'; 3 boilers, 40"/26'; cyl. 16"/5'; Red River trade in 1865; Bob Watson, master; sold to Capt. Ables for Ala. River trade, for \$16,000; arrived at Mobile, Aug. 10, 1865. (FLW; W)

ELIZA: Built in 1821 at Cincinnati; 46 tons; Alexandria-New Orleans packet; Rulen, master. (FLW)

ELIZABETH: Built in 1839 at Pittsburgh; SW; in 1840 Shreveport-New Orleans packet; O. A. Miller, master; May 25, 1843, in New Orleans-Mobile trade; J. Swiler, master. (FLW; W; S)

ELIZABETHA: Shreveport-New Orleans packet; O. A. Miller, master. (*Caddo Gazette*, 1843)

ELK: Built in 1894 at Peoria, Ill.; STW; 100 tons; hull 122'x22'x4'; built originally for Capt. John O'Neil; upper Red River packet in 1898; A. P. Seaman, master; later lengthened and entered in lower Mo. River trade. (WJ)

ELLEN: Built in 1845 at Louisville; 98 tons; Red River packet in 1840s; Kay, master. (FLW; W; S)

ELMIRA: In 1851-55 a Missouri River packet; James Dozier, master; Red River packet, 1855-57. (D; W; MHO)

E. M. BICKNELL: Built in 1865; SW; hull 150'x30'x61½'; 3 boilers; cyl. 16"/51½'; arrived in Mobile, with U. S. Gov't. supplies from New Orleans, Dec. 1, 1865; Meyers, master; on Red River in late 1860s. (FLW; W)

EMERALD: Built in 1862; SW; attached to U. S. fleet as receiving ship at St. Louis; with Porter on Red River in

1864; Jan. 5, 1868, sunk at Cat Island in Turner's Bend; was then in Cincinnati-New Orleans trade. (*Off. Records; FLW*)

EMILIE LA BARGE: Built in 1869 at St. Louis; SW; 693 tons; hull 218'x38'x5½'; 3 boilers; cyl. 22"/6'; capacity 1000 tons; Mo. River packet; Joseph La Barge, master; sold to Cpts. David Silver and George Keith in 1871 for St. Louis-Shreveport trade; returned to Mo. River in 1873; sank on Mo. River, June 6, 1875, in Nashville Bend, below Providence, Mo. (*FLW; D; W; Chittenden, II*)

EMMA: Built in 1856 at Cincinnati; STW; 385 tons; hull 211'x35'x5½'; 3 boilers; cyl. 18"/6'; Sept. 22, 1861, entered U. S. transport service; with Porter in 1864; advertised for sale by U. S. Gov't. at St. Louis; sank, May 11, 1877, 20 miles below New Orleans; seven lives lost. (*Off. Records; FLW*)

EMMA IRVIN: Tugboat; built by Capt. Ben S. White and used for ferry at Shreveport. (*W; R; MHO*)

EMPIRE PARISH: Built in 1859 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; hull 170'x32'x6'; New Orleans-Bends packet; with Porter in 1864. (*FLW; Off. Records*)

EMPRESS: Built in 1852 at Lowell; 137 tons; machinery off str. *Empress* of 1849; Red River trade in 1850s. (*FLW; W*)

ENTERPRISE: Built in 1814 at Brownsville, Pa.; SW; 45 tons; hull 80' long and 20' wide; D. M. French & Co., builders for Capt. Henry M. Shreve; arrived New Orleans, Dec. 14, 1814; first steamboat up Red River in 1814; first steamboat to pass the rapids and reach the head of navigation (Natchitoches) on Red River; left New Orleans, May 16, 1815, arrived Louisville on May 30, 1815; Nov. 15, 1814, carried troops and munitions from New Orleans to battle ground; sunk at Louisville Rock Harbor in 1817. (*Shreveport Times*, June 28, 1935; ICUS, 1888, Pt. II, p. 193)

ENTERPRISE: Built in 1858 at Minneapolis; 129 tons; La-Cross-St. Paul packet until sold to Red River parties; left Shreveport in Feb., 1868, for New Orleans; H. L. Lee, master. (*MHO; W; FLW*)

ERA No. 1: Built in 1856; STW; New Orleans-Red River packet; sunk in 1858; Isaac H. Kouns, master. (FLW; W; EFAS; S)

ERA No. 2: Built in 1858; STW; W. T. Scovell, master; Oct. 3, 1861, sold to U. S. Gov't. for tinclad gunboat; sunk on Red River, May 6, 1864. (FLW; EFAS; S; W)

ERA No. 3: Built in 1858 at Freedom, Pa.; STW; 375 tons; hull 130'x29'x4'; 3 double flue boilers, 35"/22'; cyl. 15"/41½'; 1100 bale capacity; on a three weeks round trip between New Orleans and Shreveport, cleared \$8,000; John H. Kouns, master. (FLW; W; S; MHO; EFAS)

ERA No. 4: Built about 1858; STW; Shreveport-New Orleans packet; Ben B. Kouns, master. (FLW; W; S)

ERA No. 5: Built in 1860 at Pittsburgh; SW; Shreveport-New Orleans packet; Noah Scovell, master; captured by U. S. *Queen of the West*, Feb. 11, 1863, on Red River near the Atchafalaya. (FLW; W; S; *Battles & Leaders*, III, 364-65)

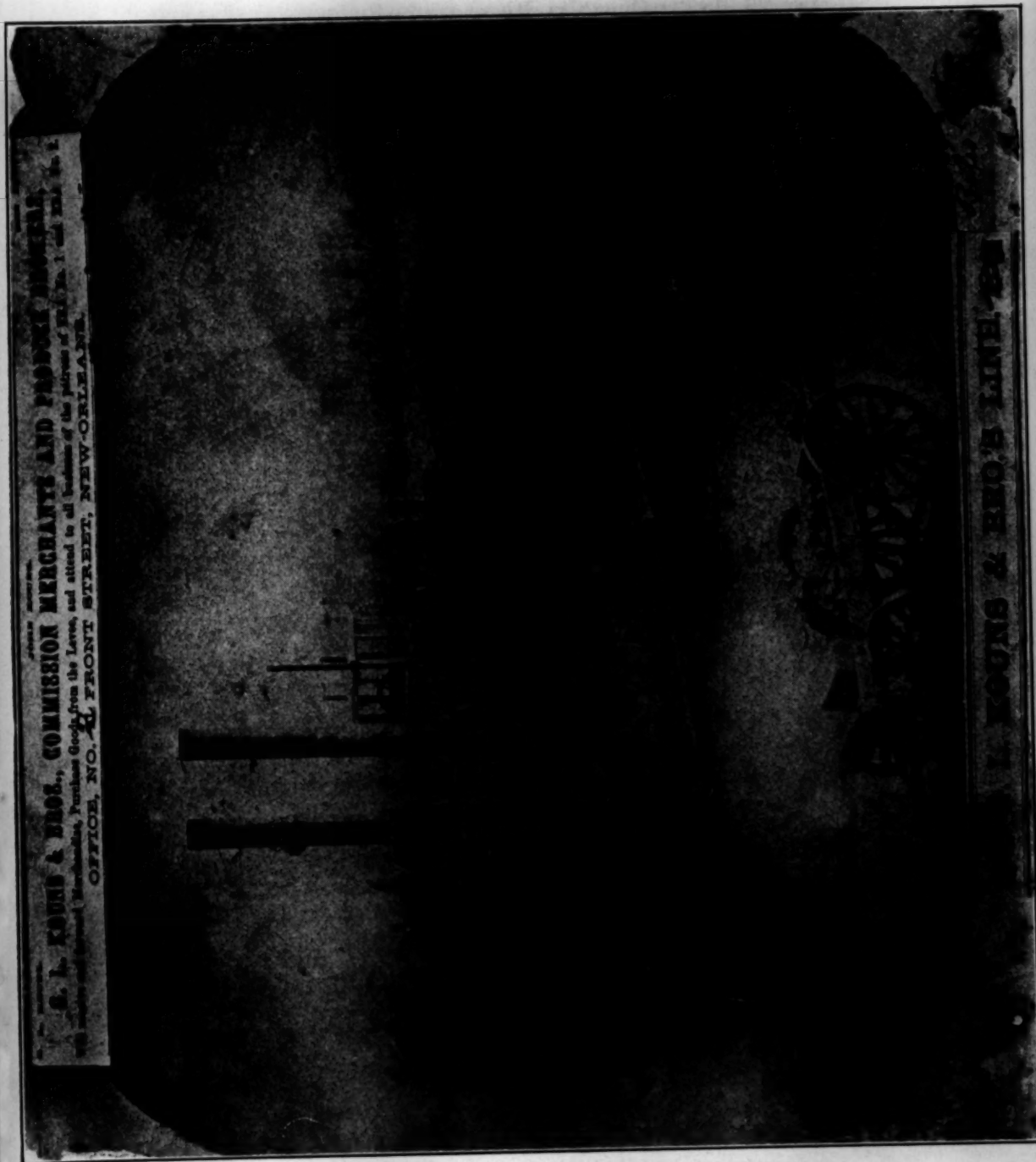
ERA No. 6: Built in 1860 at Pittsburgh; STW; 185 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans packet; burned on the Ark. River—from list of wrecks compiled by Capt. E. W. B. Nowland. (FLW; W; S; MHO)

ERA No. 7: Built in 1860; STW; on Red River in 1860; New Orleans-Camden packet in 1861; Len Moore, master. (*Picayune*, April 11, 1861; FLW; W)

ERA No. 8: Built in 1867 at Madison, Ind.; SW; 162 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans packet. (FLW; W; S; MHO)

ERA No. 9: Built in 1868 at Madison, Ind.; STW; 169 tons; hull 170'x32'x31½'; 2 boilers; cyl. 12"/4'; Shreveport-New Orleans packet; collided with and sank str. *Era No. 10* at the mouth of Red River, Dec. 17, 1868; also collided with and sank str. *Texas*, Sept. 1, 1870, on Red River; arrived Mobile, Oct. 25, 1875; Stewart, master; dismantled at Mobile. (FLW; W; S; *Louisiana Democrat*, Dec. 21, 1868)

ERA No. 10: STW; Shreveport-New Orleans packet; Chas. P. Truslow, master; sunk by collision with str. *Era No. 9* at the mouth of Red River, Dec. 17, 1868; evidently raised, as was at Norman's Landing, Oct. 23, 1869 (from Log str.



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Gladiola); also reported as arriving at Alexandria, La., May 29, 1873; Ouachita River trade for several seasons; destroyed by fire at Rayville, La., Jan. 8, 1892. (J; FLW; W; S); St. Louis *Globe Democrat*, Jan. 5, 1893)

ERA No. 11: Hull 245'; SW; carried 4500 bales of cotton and 700 head of cattle; 4 classes of passengers; cabin was 202' long and 14½' wide; the Texas was 50' long; a daily paper was published on this boat; Mart H. Kouns, master; Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1870s. (EFAS; J; N; W; MHO)

ERA No. 12: Str. *Gladiola* passed this boat at 81st Mile Island on the Mississippi bound for Shreveport on Oct. 24, 1869; William Gillen, master; Red River boat in '70s; dismantled in 1875 and machinery into the *Dawn* of 1875. (FLW; EFAS; J; S; W; Log of the steamer *Gladiola*)

ERA No. 13: STW; Red River boat in 1870s. (EFAS; J; W; S)

ESPERENZA: Built in 1871 at Brownsville, Pa.; STW; hull 177'x33½'x5'; 3 boilers, 46"/26'; cyl. 15"/5'; Red River packet, 1871-73; Oct. 21, 1874, in Cincinnati-New Orleans trade; burned at Prophet Island, lower Miss. River; loss less ins. \$20,000. (FLW; W)

EXCHANGE: Built in 1870 at Oshkosh, Wis.; SW; 287 tons; hull 143'x20'x5¾'; 1 boiler; cyl. 10½"/3'; burned upper works at St. Louis, June 8, 1878; repaired; sunk, Jan. 3, 1882, on Vermillion Bayou, La.; then valued at \$6,500. (FLW; W)

EXPRESS MAIL: Built in 1841 at Cincinnati; SW; 241 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans trade; John Smoker, master. (FLW; S)

FALLS CITY: Built in 1855 at Wellsville, Ohio; STW; 183 tons; hull 155'x27'x5'; 3 boilers; was a St. Louis-Dubuque and St. Anthony packet in 1855; J. B. Gilbert, master; sunk by ice on Lake Peppin in April, 1857; raised; repaired and sold to lower river parties, Nov. 10, 1857; advertised as New Orleans-Alexandria packet in 1850s; George Sweeny, master. (*Red River American*, Nov. 13, 1858; NA)

FANNIE GILBERT: Built in 1864 at Evansville, Ind.; 208 tons; last record, Red River in 1867; Ben B. Kouns, master. (FLW; W; S)

FANNIE LEWIS: Built in 1871 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 379 tons; hull 210'x35'x5½'; 3 boilers, 38"/22'; cyl. 18"/6'; Mo. River packet; Hall, master; on Red River, arriving at Alexandria on her 40th trip, Dec. 8, 1873. (J; FLW; W; D)

FANNIE THORNTON: Built in 1863; STW; towboat; hull 125'x24'x6'; with U. S. fleet in 1864; burned on Red River, date unknown. (FLW; NA; *Off. Records*)

FANNY FERN: Built in 1853 at California, Pa.; 182 tons; named for famous actress; March 2, 1854, sunk by collision with str. *Thomas Swann* on Mississippi River when in Red River trade; Houston, master; raised; exploded, Jan. 29, 1858, 18 miles above Cairo, Ill., when in St. Louis-Pittsburgh trade; Woodward, master; 14 lives lost. (FLW; W; MHO)

FASHION: Built in 1853 at Louisville; SW; 408 tons; hull 265'x38'x7'; Shreveport-St. Louis packet in 1850s. (FLW; EFAS)

FERD HEROLD: Built in 1890 at Dubuque, Iowa; STW; steel hull 245'x34'x7'; 4 boilers, 49"/26'; cyl. 19"/8'; two seasons on Red River; Commodore Ferd Herold of St. Louis, owner; St. Louis-Vicksburg trade; Harry Brolaski, master; then St. Louis-Illinois River trade; sold to T. J. Moss Tie Company; dismantled in 1920; hull converted into oil barge; sunk on Gulf of Mexico in 1920. (FLW; R; W; WJ)

F. H. LACY: Built in 1857 at St. Louis; SW; 670 tons; hull 270'x41'x8¼'; St. Louis-St. Joseph packet; with Porter in 1864; burned at St. Louis, date unknown. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

FINANCIER: Built in 1855 at Jefferson, La.; 53 tons; burned, April 14, 1866, at Pittsburgh. (FLW; W)

FLAVILLA: Shreveport-New Orleans packet, 1870-74; took freight from the wreck of the *Texarkana* to Shreveport and Fulton, Ark., in Sept., 1870. (FLW; S; W; *Star*, June 26, 1936)

FLETA: Built about 1858; Shreveport-New Orleans trade until Civil War, when discontinued; same trade in 1865; evidently rebuilt into *Fleta* of 1869. (W; S)

FLETA: Built in 1869 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; hull 160'x30 $\frac{1}{2}$ 'x31 $\frac{1}{2}$ '; 2 boilers, 40"/18'; cyl. 12"/4'; 1870-73, in Alexandria-New Orleans trade; A. A. Banks, master; March 13, 1877, arrived Mobile; H. R. Johnston, master; Tombigbee River trade until dismantled at Mobile; machinery sent to Rome, Ga., for Coosa River boat. (FLW; W; J; S)

FLICKER: Built in 1866 at Pittsburgh; STW; 196 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans packet; out of service in New Orleans district in 1873. (FLW; W)

FLIRT: Shreveport-New Orleans trade in the 1870s. (S; W)

FLORENCE: Built in 1823 at Silver Creek, Ind.; 54 tons; first steamer to navigate Wabash River, 1823; then New Orleans-Natchitoches packet in 1825; Murray, master. (*Courier*, May 2, 1825; FLW)

FLORENCE: Inspected at Shreveport by New Orleans local inspectors, Oct. 21, 1893; Shreveport-Index packet in 1894. (USED, 1894, p. 1436)

FLOUNDER: Built in 1854 at Louisville; STW; Tom Moore, master; advertised in *South-Western* of Feb. 14, 1855, in Shreveport-Fulton trade. (MHO)

FONTENELLE: Built in 1870 at Brownsville, Pa.; 340 tons; Mo. River packet; sunk, Aug. 22, 1871, at St. Louis; raised; on Red River in 1872. (FLW; W)

FOREST ROSE: Built in 1862; STW; U. S. tinclad gunboat; with Porter in 1864; sold in 1865; renamed *Anna White*. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

FORT TOWSON: Built in 1842 at Louisville; SW; 108 tons; Red River packet in March, 1843. (*Texan Dip. Corr.*, p. 342; FLW)

FRANCES JONES: Built in 1852 at Louisville; upper Red River packet in 1852. (FLW; W; MHO)

FRANK ERA: Red River packet in the 1850s. (W; MHO)

- FRANK MORGAN:** Built in 1869 at Sodo Lake, La.; 108 tons; C. W. Tandy, master; sunk, Sept. 15, 1875, by storm at New Orleans. (FLW; S; MHO)
- FRANK WILLARD:** Built in 1873 at Ironton, Ohio; 75 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1878. (FLW; W; MHO)
- FRANKLIN PIERCE:** Built about 1853 at Covington, Ky.; 348 tons; W. W. Wetherbury, master; this well-known Red River master brought suit against the Government to have the name of this boat changed because it had the reputation of being "unlucky"; this was first suit of its kind and Congress passed a special act to authorize the change of name; renamed *Texana*, Feb. 22, 1855. (FLW; W; MHO)
- FRIENDLY:** Built in 1888 at Friendly, W. Va.; STW; 66 tons; towboat; hull 120'x27'x3½'; 2 boilers; burned, Oct. 8, 1892, at Douglas Plantation above Shreveport. (WJ, Oct. 15, 1932; FLW)
- FROLIC:** Built in 1860 at Wheeling, Va.; 393 tons; captured by Porter in 1864; Red River trade, 1865-67; John Hein, master. (FLW; W; EFAS; S; *Off. Records*)
- FRONTIER:** Built in 1843 at Louisville; 109 tons; Shreveport-Jefferson packet; Sands, master; sunk in 1846. (*Caddo Gazette*, 1843; FLW)
- GARLAND:** Built in 1888 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 261 tons; hull 162'x30'x4½'; sister boat to *Hallette*; both built by Capt. G. W. Rea and named for daughters of H. C. Stringfellow, who owned large cotton plantation near Shreveport. (FLW; W; R)
- GARRY OWEN:** Arrived Alexandria, La., from New Orleans, Sept. 15, 1873, on her first trip; reported sunk by tug at New Orleans on Feb. 4, 1876. (J; W; FLW)
- GEM:** Built in 1850 at Cincinnati; SW; 298 tons; in 1856 this boat arrived at Shreveport with iron rails for the Vicksburg, Shreveport & Texas railroad. (MHO)
- GEM:** Built in 1898 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 97 tons; hull 135'x21'x3'; 3 boilers; New Orleans-Red River packet; built by Capt. B. C. Rea; burned to water's edge at Hahnville Landing with a loss of five of crew, Feb. 14, 1914. (WJ; R; N)

GEM OF THE ANTILLES: Jefferson-Shreveport & Little River packet in 1866; John Shute, master. (MHO)

GENERAL BEAUREGARD: Built in 1861; SW; Confederate gunboat; built as side-wheel towboat *Ocean*; sunk in Battle of Memphis, Tenn., in 1862; evidently raised by Confederates; sunk in May, 1864, at Shreveport to prevent capture by Federals. (FLW; Cincinnati *Enquirer*, May 30, 1864)

GENERAL HODGES: Built in 1860; reported sunk on the Red River, May 3, 1864; machinery into *G. B. Allen* in 1866. (FLW; S)

GENERAL LANE: Built in 1848 at Louisville; 240 tons; left Cincinnati, Nov. 21, 1850, for Alexandria, La. (FLW)

GENERAL LYON: Built in 1861 as str. *De Soto*; SW; Red River packet, 1861-62; converted into Confederate gunboat in 1862; captured by the Federals at Island No. 10 in Dec., 1862, and rebuilt into tinclad gunboat; with Porter in 1864. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

GENERAL QUITMAN: Built in 1859 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 615 tons; hull 280'x38'x8'; 6 boilers; cyl. 30"/10'; record run, New Orleans to Donaldsonville, La., in 5 hours, 6 min., in 1860; John W. Cannon, master; in 1861 in Confederate transport service on Red River; then hid in a Red River bayou until 1865; sunk by snag and caught fire and destroyed, 15 miles above Bayou Sara, La., Oct. 22, 1869. (FLW; W; S; R)

GEORGE: Arrived Shreveport, Feb. 20, 1867; Ben V. Crooks, master; upper river packet. (MHO)

GEORGE R. MARSH: Small scow-bow STW towboat; built at Alexandria about 1904; George R. Marsh, master. (N; R)

GEORGE C. WOLF: Built in 1872 at Madison, Ind.; STW; 533 tons; hull 198'x37½'x5⅔'; 3 boilers, 38"/26'; cyl. 17½"; cost \$28,000; Lloyd T. Belt, master; machinery from *City of Pekin*; Shreveport-St. Louis trade; exploded boilers near Helena, Ark., Aug. 22, 1873; repaired; sunk in Bowling Green Bend on the Mo. River, May 2, 1874; total loss; then valued at \$40,000. (FLW; W)

GEORGE L. BASS: STW; freight boat; Mo. River and Osage River trade, then went south; sank in Red River, Sept. 11, 1897; B. Armistead, master. (FLW; R; WJ, Sept. 19, 1897)

GERARD B. ALLEN: Built in 1866 at St. Louis; 593 tons; hull 215'x34½'x5½'; 3 boilers; cyl. 18"/6'; machinery off str. *General Hodges* (1860); St. Louis-Shreveport trade; burned at St. Louis, April 29, 1869, with the *Carrie V. Kountz* and 4 other boats. (FLW; W; WJ)

G. H. VAN ETTE: Built in 1881 at Little Rock; STW; 119 tons; hull 130'x24'x3'; 2 boilers; cyl. 15"/4½'; arrived at Mobile, Aug. 12, 1888; sank on Red River at Oak Shoals, Jan. 8, 1889. (FLW)

GILLUM: With Porter in 1864. (*Off. Records*)

GLADIOLA: Built in 1869 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; 277 tons; New Orleans-Shreveport packet; H. L. Lee, master; sunk, July 14, 1874, on Red River, 17 miles above Grand Ecure, La.; valued at \$10,000. (*Southwestern*, Nov. 5, 1873; FLW; J; R; S)

GLASGOW: Built in 1862 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; hull 230'x37'x6½'; 3 boilers; cyl. 22"/7'; sunk, Feb. 22, 1873, when she hit the wreck of str. *Moonson* in Prudhomme Bend on the Red River. (FLW; W; R)

GLIDE: Built in 1843 at Pittsburgh; STW; 52 tons; New Orleans-Alexandria packet; exploded boiler, Aug. 15, 1844, near New Orleans. (FLW; W; LL, p. 281; *Southern Transcript*, Aug. 19, 1844)

GLIDE No. 3: Built in 1863; STW; exploded boiler, Jan. 13, 1869, 59 miles above New Orleans when in Shreveport-New Orleans trade. (FLW; W; S; *Louisiana Democrat*, Jan. 20, 1869)

GOLDEN ERA: Built in 1862 at Pittsburgh; SW; 249 tons; hull 180'x33'x4½'; 3 boilers; cyl. 15"/5½'; sunk on Red River, Feb. 25, 1870. (FLW; N)

GOSSAMER: Built in 1863 for Kouns Line; STW; sunk, 15 miles below Alexandria, La., Sept. 22, 1869; John H. Kouns, master. (FLW; W; S; MHO)

GOV. SHELBY: Built in 1817 at Louisville; SW; 198 tons; arrived New Orleans, March 25, 1818; John T. Gray, master; dismantled in 1822; rebuilt; Red River packet in 1825. (*Shreveport Times*, June 28, 1935; FLW; W; S)

GRAND DUKE: Built in 1859 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 508 tons; hull 230'x36'x8½'; 4 boilers; cyl. 24"/7'; New Orleans-Shreveport packet; S. Applegate, master; assisted in the capture of the U. S. ironclad *Indianola*, Feb. 11, 1863; in this engagement she was commanded by Capt. J. M. White; other C. S. A. boats were the ram *Queen of the West*, *William H. Webb*, *Grand Era* and *Dr. Batey*; sunk at Shreveport to block channel and to prevent Federal fleet from capturing her in 1863. (*Picayune*, April 11, 1861; EFAS; FLW; W; S; Scharf)

GRAND ERA: In 1860 Shreveport-New Orleans packet; John H. Kouns, master; the *T. W. Roberts* went out in her place as a Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1861; assisted in the capture of the U. S. ironclad *Indianola*, Feb. 11, 1863; other C. S. A. boats were the ram *Queen of the West*, *William H. Webb*, *Grand Duke* and *Dr. Batey*. (*Picayune*, April 11, 1861; MHO; *Louisiana Democrat*, Feb. 27, 1861; Scharf)

GRAND ERA: Built in 1869 at Jeffersonville, Ind., for Kouns Line; SW; 857 tons; hull 240'x40'x7½'; 4 boilers, 40"/30'; cyl. 25¾"/7'; Red River packet, 1870-71; John H. Kouns, master; burned at New Orleans, Jan. 21, 1871; machinery came off str. *Grey Eagle*. (FLW; N; J; R)

GRENADA: Built in 1852 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 217 tons; Sept. 1, 1856, listed as inspected at New Orleans by U. S. steamboat inspectors. (FLW; W; S)

GREY EAGLE: Built in 1847 at Cincinnati; SW; 177 tons; in collision with *Sultana* at Island No. 35, June 13, 1848; repaired; one season on Red River; sunk, March 1, 1850. (W; FLW)

GREY EAGLE: Built in 1860 at Louisville; SW; 444 tons; Kouns Line express mail packet in 1867-68 in Shreveport-New Orleans trade; John H. Kouns, master; machinery into the *Grand Era* of 1869. (FLW; MHO; *Louisiana Democrat*, Dec. 21, 1868)

GROSBECK: Originally the str. *Fanny*; SW; sold to U. S. Government and renamed *Grosbeck*; with Porter in 1864 as a hospital transport; official number, Gunboat No. 8. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

G. W. BOLTON: Catamaran hull 80'x12½'x4½'; recessed center wheel; ferry between Alexandria and Pineville; also short packet trips, Alexandria-Shreveport in 1891. (FLW; W; R; N)

G. W. MAYO: Upper Red River packet in 1897; A. P. Seaman, master. (WJ; R)

G. W. SENTELL: See *Henry A. Tyler*.

H. A. HOMEYER: Built in 1863 at New Albany, Ind.; STW; 398 tons; hull 158'x32'x4¾'; Red River trade, 1865-67; burned, Jan. 13, 1868, 25 miles below Franklin, La., on the Ouachita River at Falk's Landing while enroute from Camden, Ark., to New Orleans; 900 bales of cotton lost.

HALLETTE: Built in 1887 at Jeffersonville, Ind., by Capt. G. W. Rea for the Red River Line; STW; hull 161'x30¼'x4½'; machinery from the str. *Alexandria* of 1875; 2000 bale boat; last record, 1902, in New Orleans-Bends trade (see *Garland*, sister boat). (FLW; R; N; WJ, March 23, 1935)

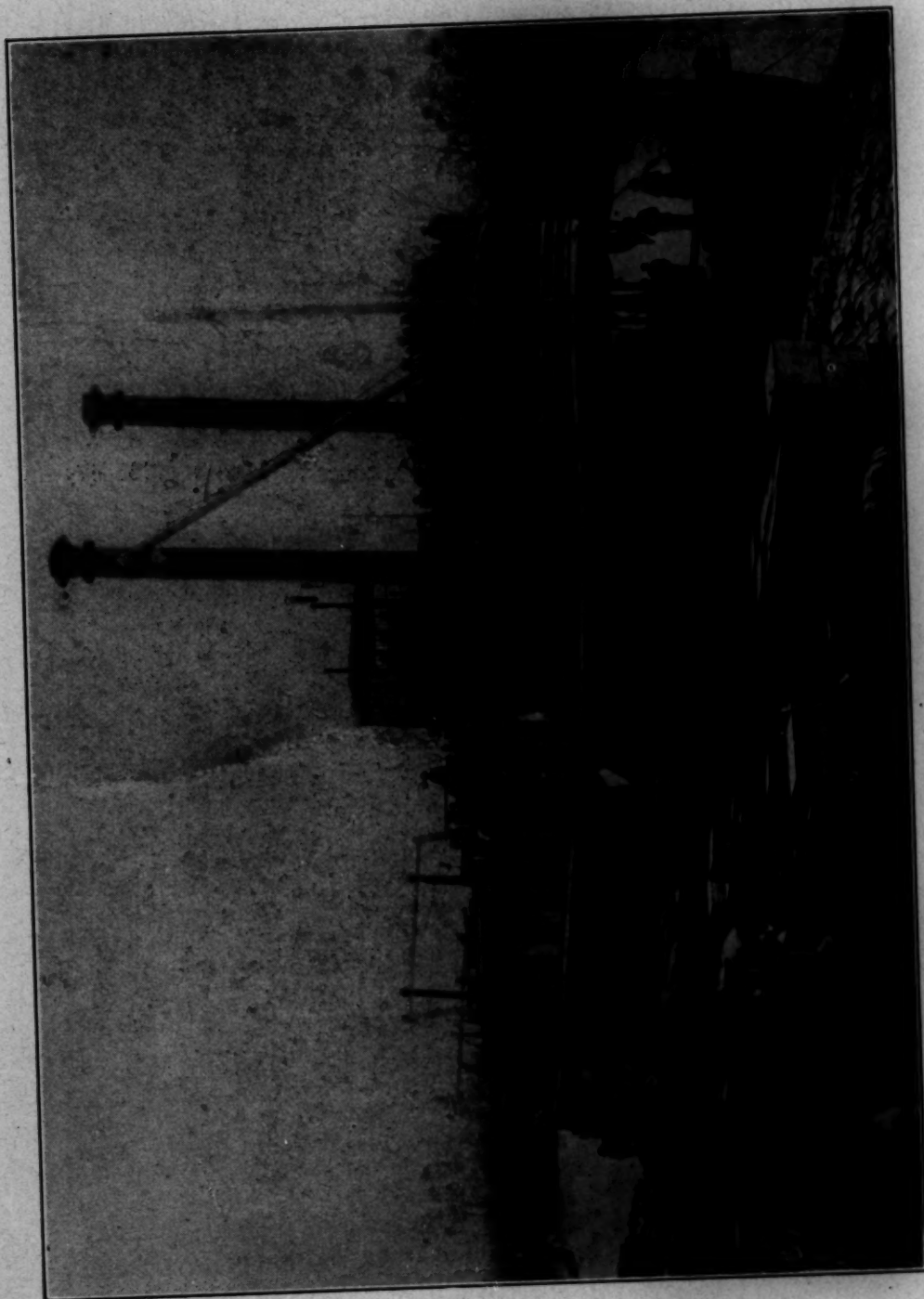
HAM HOWELL: Upper Red River packet in 1858. (MHO; W)

HAMILTON: With Porter in 1864; perhaps this was the *Maria Hamilton*. (*Off. Records*)

HANNIBAL: Built in 1838 at Louisville; SW; 136 tons; Natchitoches-New Orleans trade, 1838 and 1840s; James Bradish, master. (*Constitutional Advocate*, Dec. 16, 1840; FLW)

HARMONICA: Built in 1856 at Elizabeth, Pa.; STW; 151 tons; hull 149'x28'x3½'; St. Louis-St. Paul trade in 1857; also in 1857 in Fulton City, Iowa-St. Paul, Minn., trade; Red River trade in 1858. (FLW; W)

HARRY HILL: Built in 1847 at Cincinnati; SW; 332 tons; Red River in 1840s; last record, Nashville-Southland, Ky., trade in 1854. (FLW; S)



STEAMER G. W. SENTELL

HASTINGS: Built in 1857 at Pittsburgh; SW; 191 tons; hull 176'x33'x5 $\frac{3}{4}$ '; U. S. tinclad service in 1862; sunk on Red River in April, 1864, by Confederate batteries. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

HAZEL ESTELLE: Hull 59 $\frac{1}{2}$ 'x13 $\frac{1}{2}$ 'x21 $\frac{1}{2}$ '; Shreveport-Garland trade in 1891. (FLW)

HECLA: Built in 1847 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 285 tons; 1849, in New Orleans-Red River trade; Peter Delmau, master. (FLW; Saxon, 183-218; *Red River Republican*, June 30, 1849)

HELENA: Built in 1845 at St. Louis; Alexandria-New Orleans packet in 1846; Welch, master; April 11, 1864, in Galena-St. Louis trade. (*Planters' Banner*, Nov. 19, 1846; NA)

HELIOPOLIS: Built in 1831 by Capt. Shreve as a U. S. Gov't. snagboat to remove Red River Raft. (FLW)

HEMSTEAD: Built in 1844 at Louisville; 75 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans trade in 1840s; Moss, master; sunk in 1848 on the Ohio River. (*Louisville Underwriters Ass'n Report*, 1848; FLW; S)

HENRY A. TYLER: Built in 1883 at Louisville; STW; hull 160'x30'x4 $\frac{3}{4}$ '; 2 boilers, 42"/24'; cyl. 15"/5'; renamed *G. W. Sentell*; burned near New Orleans; machinery into *Col. T. G. Sparks*. (FLW; W; R; N)

HENRY CHOUTEAU: Built in 1853 at Cincinnati; SW; 633 tons; hull 263'x35'x7'; 6 boilers; cyl. 26"/10'; St. Louis-New Orleans trade in 1857-58; 1862-65, U. S. Quartermaster Dept. as transport; with Porter in 1864; offered for sale at St. Louis by U. S. Gov't., May 19, 1865, as suitable for wharfboat; converted into wharfboat for Natchez, Miss., in 1865. (EFAS; FLW; *Off. Records*)

HENRY FRANK: Built in 1878; STW; hull 276'x52'x9'; 10' guards; overall width 72'; 6 boilers, 42"/28'; cyl. 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ "/9'; engines from str. *Ajax*; cost \$75,000; brought largest load of cotton (9,229 bales) to New Orleans; brought first locomotive to Alexandria in 1881; J. Frank Hicks, master; burned at Davis Creek, 22 miles above New Orleans, Oct. 2, 1886. (NA; FLW; *Town Talk*, March 17, 1933)

HENRY M. SHREVE: Built in 1867 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 252 tons; hull 200'x35'x5'; 4 boilers; cyl. 20"/6'; machinery off str. *Stephen Decatur*; Carter Line packet in 1871 in Shreveport-St. Louis trade; H. S. Carter, master; burned, Chester, Ill., Nov. 23, 1872; valued at \$22,000; Carter Line Company, owners. (*Shreveport Times*, June 28, 1935; FLW; W; S)

HENRY TATE: Built in 1869 at Louisville; Red River trade; 439 tons; 1870-72. (FLW; W)

HESPER: Built in 1866; hull 127'x35'x3½'; 1 boiler; cyl. 8"/3'; sunk, Nov. 7, 1872, sixty miles above Alexandria, La., on Red River; valued at \$6,000. (FLW; W; S)

HETTIE GILMORE: Red River trade in 1861; burned at mouth Barren River, Ky., in Feb., 1863; evidently rebuilt, as with Porter on Red River in 1864. (FLW; W; *Off. Records*)

H. M. CARTER: Built in 1901 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 97 tons; hull 155'x28'x3½'; sank Alexandria, La., June, 1905; rebuilt and blew up on lower Mississippi in the latter part of 1905; repaired; caught fire in Dec., 1908; broke in two and total wreck; H. M. Carter, master. (NA; J; R; W; N; WJ)

H. M. WRIGHT: Built in 1852 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 366 tons; remains of her wreck on Red River removed by the snagboat *Algerine* in July, 1857. (FLW; W; MHO)

HOLDEN: Alexandria-New Orleans packet; R. H. Morton, master. (*Red River American*, Nov. 13, 1858)

HOME: Only record, was owned by Captain M. N. Wood in the 1850s and in Red River trade. (MHO)

HOME: Built in 1875 at Evansville, Ind.; 326 tons; sunk, Dec. 14, 1876, in Tucker's Bend on Red River while in Shreveport-Alexandria trade. (FLW)

HOMER: Red River in 1860. (S; *Louisiana Democrat*, Oct. 17, 1860)

HOPE: Built in 1855 at Louisville; SW; 193 tons; hull 145'x26'x4½'; cyl. 14"/4½'; Alexandria-New Orleans & St. Louis packet; Thomas Moore, master; burned and sank on Tallahatchie River, Miss., July 24, 1863, to prevent falling into hands of Federal troops. (*Red River American*, Nov. 13, 1858; FLW)

HORNET: Built in 1820 at Brandenburg, Ky.; SW; 118 tons; arrived New Orleans, Jan. 1, 1821; S. Brandenburg, master; in 1822-25, Natchitoches-New Orleans packet; arrived Mobile, April 7, 1826. (FLW; W; S)

HORNET: Built in 1869 at Pittsburgh; 89 tons; hull 156'x28'x5½'; propeller boat; in Red River trade in 1870. (FLW; MHO)

HOUMA: Built in 1906 at Madisonville, La.; STW; 136'x23⅔'x4⅔'. (FLW; R; J; N)

HOWARD: Red River packet in 1852. (MHO)

HUNTER: Mentioned as Red River packet in March, 1843. (*Texan Dip. Corr.*, p. 342; S)

HUNTRESS: New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1883. (*Town Talk*, March 17, 1883)

HUNTSVILLE: Built in 1864 at New Albany, Ind.; STW; hull 159'x33'x4½'; 2 boilers; cyl. 13"x14'; New Orleans-Shreveport packet; last record, at St. Louis in 1871. (FLW; W)

HUSTLER: Built about 1926 at Shreveport; STW; 52 tons; hull 92'x19½'x4'; A. W. Farney, master; upper river packet; in 1927 assisted the snagboat *Joseph E. Ransdell* in removing snags, etc.; J. B. Mequet, master. (*Shreveport Times*, June 30, 1927; MHO)

IATAN: Built in 1840 at Pittsburgh; SW; 142 tons; hull 147'x22'x5½'; 2 boilers; single engine. (FLW; W)

IATAN: Built in 1858 at Cincinnati; SW; hull 220'x33'x6'; 4 boilers; cyl. 22"/7'; built for Missouri River trade; Mobile and New Orleans packet in 1865; cattle boat out of Shreveport in 1868-69; Capt. John Hein, owner; Fred Probst, clerk. (*Louisiana Democrat*, July 1, 1868)

IBERVILLE: Built in 1859 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 505 tons; hull 250'x35'x6'; 4 boilers; cyl. 22"x7'; New Orleans-Bends packet; converted into a Confederate cotton sheathed gunboat in 1862; captured by U. S. forces; placed in U. S. transport service; on Red River with Porter in 1864; burned at New Orleans, July 13, 1866. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

IDA: Built in 1866 at St. Louis; STW; 326 tons; the steamer *Gladiola* reports passing the str. *Ida* at Cotile Landing on Red River on Oct. 22, 1869. (FLW; Log of the steamer *Gladiola*)

IDA LEON: Built in 1873 at Wheeling, W. Va.; STW; towboat; 82 tons; sunk when caught on bank and capsized, Aug. 26, 1876, at Coushatta, La., on Red River. (FLW; W; S)

IDA STOCKDALE: Built in 1863 at Pittsburgh; STW; hull 179'x32'x4½'; 2 boilers 44"x24'; cyl. 14½"/5'; machinery from str. *Luella*; on Red River in 1863-64; dismantled in 1867; machinery into str. *Ida Stockdale No. 2*. (FLW; W)

IKE HAMMITT: Built in 1860 at McKeesport, Pa.; STW; towboat; hull 142'x24'x5'; 3 boilers, 38"/24'; cyl. 19½"/6'; with Porter in 1864; dismantled. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

IMPERIAL: Built in 1894 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; hull 210'x41'x7'; had 7' guards; 55' wide overall; engines and upper works off str. *Dacotah*, a former Mo. River packet (Coulson Line Co.); Red River Line packet; Noah Scovell, master, in 1894; W. T. Scovell in 1895; sank while laid up above Algiers, La., because shrimps ate oakum out of bottom seams. (R; N; WJ)

INDEPENDENCE: This boat was nicknamed *Fourth of July*; arrived Shreveport, Jan. 4, 1867, from Carolina Bluffs; Frank Seth, master. (MHO)

INDIAN: Built in 1834 at Cincinnati; SW; 60 tons; single engine; made several trips up Ark. and Red rivers with Indians to Indian Territory; arrived at Shreveport in 1840 from Cincinnati with government supplies for Fort Towson. (FLW; W; MHO)

INDIAN No. 2: Built in 1859 at Pittsburgh; sunk in 1863 on Red River. (FLW; W)

INDIANA: Alexandria-Natchez packet; Brown, master. (*Red River Whig*, Feb. 26, 1842)

INDIAN QUEEN: Destroyed by fire on Red River in 1893. (WJ, Aug. 19, 1893)

INGOMAR: Built in 1854 at Louisville; SW; 731 tons; hull 275'x40'x7½'; 5 boilers; cyl. 28"/7'; Memphis-New Orleans Packet Company; on Red River in 1859; dismantled at New Orleans in 1862; machinery placed on Confederate gunboat *Louisiana*. (FLW; W; EFAS)

IRENE: Built in 1850 at Pittsburgh; SW; 124 tons; New Orleans-Shreveport trade; J. M. Tucker, master; sunk, Nov. 10, 1868, 23 miles below Shreveport on Red River. (FLW; W)

IRIS: Built in 1852 at Rising Sun, Ind.; 52 tons; purchased by Captain M. N. Wood in 1852 for Red River trade; Shreveport-New Orleans packet, 1852-58. (FLW; W; EFAS; MHO)

IRON CITY: Built in 1864 at Pittsburgh; STW; towboat; 218 tons; hull 150'x28'x3'; John Root, master; sunk 4 miles below Alexandria, La., on Red River, Feb. 3, 1868; total loss. (FLW; MHO)

ISABELLA: Built in 1849 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 249 tons; arrived Mobile, Nov. 8, 1849, for Ala. River trade; owned by Cox and Brainard; in 1852 in Red River trade; July 13, 1854, passed Memphis from New Orleans for Louisville; last record Shreveport-New Orleans trade in 1858. (FLW; W; *Picayune*, Sept. 17, 1858)

J. A. COTTON: See steamer *Mary T.*; Shreveport-New Orleans packet 1866. (*South-Western*, Sept. 12, 1866; FLW; MHO)

JAMES BATTLE: Built in 1859 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; hull 225'x35'x7½'; 5 boilers; cyl. 24"/7'; arrived Mobile, June 8, 1860; J. J. Cox, master; Cox, Brainard & Co., owners; captured, April, 1864, by U. S. *De Soto* while enroute to Havana with C. S. A. cotton, taken to Key West; *De Soto's* crew prize-money from sale of cotton \$240,000; with Porter in 1864; dismantled at New Albany, Ind., in 1868. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

JAMES L. HALE: The Baker Tow Boat Line of Demopolis, Ala., purchased the Red River towboat *James L. Hale* for use on the Ala. and Tombigbee rivers. (WJ, Oct. 10, 1912)

JAS. POWELL: Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1866. (MHO)

J. D. CLARKE: Captured by Admiral Farragut's flagship *Hartford* on April 8, 1863, at the mouth of Red River. This boat was operated by the C. S. Commissary Dept. for taking cattle out of the Red River Valley to various points on the Mississippi River. (*Off. Records*, Ser. I, Vol. 20)

JEFFERSON: Built in 1851 at Newport, Ky.; 238 tons; Memphis-Batesville, Ark., trade from August, 1851, until sunk, Feb. 14, 1852; raised and sold to Red River parties; New Orleans-Alexandria packet; B. McKinney, master. (*Louisiana Democrat*, 1852)

JEFFERSON: Built at Jefferson City, La.; 102 tons; on Oct. 21, 1869, the *Jefferson* was loading at Shreveport for Jefferson, Texas. (Log of str. *Gladiola*; FLW; MHO)

JEFF THOMPSON: Sunk at Shreveport in May, 1864, to prevent capture and blockade channel. (*Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 30, 1864)

JENNIE: Small upper river freight boat in 1880s; STW; Capt. J. K. B. Rea states that she had a "dry goods box" for a cabin; George L. White, master. (W; R)

JENNIE HOWELL: New Orleans-Shreveport trade in 1859. (*South-Western*, Aug. 18, 1859)

JENNIE WHIPPLE: Built in 1857 at Brownsville, Pa.; STW; hull 135'x30'x3½'; 3 boilers; cyl. 15½"/3½'; Red River packet, 1858-62; sank, Feb. 1, 1864, near the cut-off on Arkansas River. (FLW; MHO)

JENNY LIND: Built in 1847 at Cincinnati; SW; 247 tons; hull 170'x31'x6'; 1847-49, Red River trade; Nov. 18, 1850, advertised in Mobile, Ala. River trade; George Cloudes, master. (FLW; W; MHO)

JESSE K. BELL: Built in 1856 at Cincinnati; SW; 325 tons; hull 255'x40'x6'; 3 boilers; cyl. 22"/8'; Shreveport-New Orleans packet; burned at St. Louis, Sept. 14, 1863; set on fire by Confederate steamboat burners; machinery into the *Bart Able*. (CSA Secret Service Agents Reports; FLW; R; W)

JESSE K. BELL: Built in 1879 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 291 tons; hull 220'x41'x7'; New Orleans-Red River trade; Richard Sinnott, master; machinery from the *Bart Able*; burned at New Orleans about 1884. (FLW; R; N)

J. E. TRUDEAU: Built in 1889 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 242 tons; hull 162'x30'x4'; cotton guard type; New Orleans-Red River trade; the *J. E. Trudeau*, New Orleans-Melville packet, hit an obstruction at Alto Landing, Pointe Coupée Parish, on April 20, 1898, and sank over her main deck. The *Electra* came along and took off the passengers and the *Warren* was chartered to operate in her place. (WJ, April 30, 1898; FLW)

JEWEL: Built in 1887 at Louisville; STW; hull 177'x33'x5'; Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1880s; burned at Mobile in 1890 in cotton shed fire. (FLW; S)

J. M. SHARPE: April 25, 1861, departed from Shreveport for New Orleans with the Greenwood Guards. (MHO)

JO WALKER: The *Jo Walker* was operating on Red River, running out of Shreveport to the upper Bends. (WJ, Feb. 19, 1898)

JOE BRYARLY: New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1878; Matt Scovell, master. (*Southwestern*, Oct. 14, 1878)

JOHN B. LACLEDE: First boat to ascend the Rigolette de Bon Dieu in 1832 during an overflow; Jackson, master. (MD)

JOHN D. PERRY: Built in 1855 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; hull 220'x33'x6'; 4 boilers, 38"/26'; cyl. 20"/7'; Missouri River packet trade; ran a couple of seasons on Red River in 1860-61; sunk, April 6, 1869, at De Vall's Bluff, Ark., on White River; boat caught fire and burned. (FLW; EFAS; D)

JOHN D. SCULLY: Built in 1878 at Pittsburgh; STW; 285.70 tons; iron hull 215'x34½'x5'; 3 boilers, 38"/26'; cyl. 15"/4½'; cost \$60,000; Red River Line packet; had one chimney and was called "one-armed John"; 1893, in Bayou Lafourche trade; received a new hull at New Orleans in 1894; burned, Aug. 20, 1895, at Carrollton, La., near New Orleans. (FLW; W; R; WJ, June 10, 1893, Sept. 22, 1934)

JOHN E. KENNA: New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1880s; sunk in New Orleans district, Aug. 7, 1883. (FLW; W)

JOHN F. HOPKINS: Red River packet in 1864. (K)

JOHN G. FLETCHER: Built in 1877 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; hull 121'x26'x4'; 2 boilers; sunk on Red River, Dec. 7, 1886. (FLW; S)

JOHN HOWARD: Built about 1890 for Ouachita River trade; J. W. Carlton, master; rebuilt in 1893; St. Louis-Shreveport packet in 1894; burned at Columbia, La., Dec. 17, 1898. (USED, 1894; WJ, June 9, 1894, Dec. 17, 1898)

JOHN LINTON: Built in 1834 at Cincinnati; SW; 309 tons; Natchitoches-New Orleans packet; Captains McGuire and Shreiver. (*Planters' Intelligencer*, Sept. 24, 1834; FLW)

JOHN RAINE: Built in 1856; hull 256'x36½'x6'; with Porter in 1864. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

JOHN T. DOSWELL: Built in 1848 at Louisville; SW; 131 tons; New Orleans-Natchitoches packet; Wm. Kimball, master. (*Commercial Bulletin*, 1849; Saxon, 186-229)

JOHN T. MOORE: Built in 1870 at Cincinnati by Capt. W. T. Boardman; 633 tons; hull 176'x42'x7'; 4 boilers; cyl. 22¾"/6'; first iron hull boat on Red River; said to have one of the finest cabins of any boat on Red River; was an independent boat; sold to Carter Packet Company for the Shreveport-St. Louis trade, 1871-73. (W; S; MHO; *Town Talk*, March 17, 1933)

JOHN WARNER: Built in 1856 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 391 tons; hull 220'x35'x6'; 3 boilers 38"/28'; cyl. 24½"/7'; was enroute down Red River with load of confiscated cotton on May 5, 1864, when shelled and sunk at Dunn's Bayou; was under escort of tinclad gunboats, *Signal* and *Covington*, when attacked by Confederate land battery; the tinclad *Covington* was destroyed by fire; the *Signal* was abandoned to the Rebels; Admiral Porter issued orders for future cotton movements to be under patrol of ironclads. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

JOSEPH KINNEY: Built in 1872 at Madison, Ind.; SW; hull 239'x36½'x6½'; 3 boilers; cyl. 22"/7'; Capt. Joe Kinney, owner; built for Mo. River trade; made several Red River trips; sunk, April 13, 1882, a/c hit bridge pier at Glasgow, Mo., on the Mo. River. (FLW; W; D)

JOSIE D. HARKINS: Burned and sank, March 10, 1892, twenty miles north of Texarkana, Ark. (*St. Louis Globe Democrat*, Jan. 5, 1893)

JOS. HOLDEN: Built in 1856 at Marietta, Ohio; 200 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1859; sank near Shreveport, date unknown. (MHO; FLW)

J. T. REEDER: Built in 1902; STW; 100'x22'x3½'; St. Louis-Tennessee River Packet Company; sold to Red River parties in 1910. (FLW; W)

JUDAH TURO: Built in 1854 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 363 tons; hull 230'x36'x8½'; 4 boilers; cyl. 23"/7'; Shreveport-New Orleans packet; burned at Shreveport, about July 5, 1863, while laid up to prevent capture by U. S. forces. (FLW; W; EFAS; S)

JUDGE FLETCHER: Built in 1860 at Brownsville, Pa.; 260 tons; Kouns Line; New Orleans-Alexandria packet; J. W. Smith, master. (*Picayune*, April 11, 1861; W; S)

JUDGE McLEAN: Built in 1844 at Louisville; SW; 138 tons; double engine; drawing 25" of water; New Orleans-Alexandria packet; H. W. Hinckle, master. (*Planters' Banner*, 1846)

JUDGE TORRENCE: Built in 1857 at Cincinnati; SW; 399 tons; hull 180'x30'x7½'; 4 boilers; cyl. 23"/7'; 1862, attached to U. S. Mississippi River squadron as powder supply boat; with Porter on Red River in 1864. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

JULIA: March 23, 1842, Alexandria-Grosse Tête packet; Hiram Johnson, master. (FLW)

JULIA: Built in 1845 at Elizabeth, Pa.; 134 tons; Alexandria-New Orleans packet; Hiram Johnson, master; rebuilt in 1854 and placed in Shreveport-Pine Bluff trade. (MHO; FLW)

JULIA A. RUDOLPH: Built in 1869 at Pittsburgh; STW; hull 180'x36½'x5½'; 3 boilers; cyl. 22"/7'; machinery off str. *Nashville*; McComas, master, and Fred V. Cellos, clerk; burned at New Orleans, Jan. 1, 1871; machinery went into str. *Fannie Tatum* in 1873. (FLW; W)

JULIA RANDOLPH: The Red River packet *Julia Randolph* held a record for making nine successive trips between New Orleans and Jefferson, Texas, in as many weeks; this was about the year 1873 and the river distance between terminals (round trip) was 1,650 miles. Old rivermen state that the *Randolph* was the fastest stern-wheel boat ever to leave New Orleans. (WJ, Feb. 25, 1893)

JULIET: Built in 1863; U. S. tinclad gunboat attached to Admiral Porter's fleet, 1863-64, as a dispatch boat. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

KATE KINNEY: Built in 1873 at Madison, Ind.; STW; 750 tons; hull 200'x38'x6 $\frac{1}{2}$ '; 4 boilers, 38"/26'; cyl. 18"/7'; Jos. Kinney, master and owner; Missouri River packet; machinery off str. *R. W. Walt*; burned at Shreveport in 1882 while in St. Louis-Shreveport trade. (FLW; W; D)

KATE TAYLOR: Arrived Shreveport, Sept. 15, 1858, having successfully passed over the falls at Alexandria. (MHO)

KENTUCKY: Built in 1836 at Pittsburgh; SW; 90 tons; sunk in 1839; rebuilt in 1840; Natchitoches-Vicksburg packet in 1840-41; N. R. Wood, master. (*Herald*, April 10, 1841; FLW)

KENTUCKY: Built in 1856 at Cincinnati; SW; 315 tons; hull 222'x32'x5 $\frac{1}{2}$ '; 4 boilers; cyl. 22"/7'; in June, 1865, chartered to transport 800 Confederate troops from Shreveport; struck a snag a short distance below Shreveport and sank so rapidly that over 200 soldiers were drowned. (S; FLW; MHO)

KENWOOD: Built about 1861 for Illinois River trade; with Porter in 1864; advertised for sale by U. S. Gov't. on Sept. 17, 1865. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

KEOKUK: Built in 1858 at Brownsville, Pa.; SW; hull 177'x28'x5'; 3 boilers, 40"/26'; cyl. 20"/5 $\frac{1}{2}$ '; 1858-61, Capt. E. V. Holcomb, master; 1862, J. R. Hatcher, master; sunk at Baton Rouge, 1866; dismantled. (FLW; MHO)

KEOKUK: Built in 1875 at Mound City, Ill., as the str. *C. K. Peck*; STW; hull 210'x36'x5'; 3 boilers, 38"/24'; cyl. 16"/6'; Mo. River packet; renamed *Keokuk*, Sept. 23, 1882; occasional trips from St. Louis to Shreveport, 1882-84. (FLW; NA; R; Family Records of Mr. C. J. Rives of Shreveport; WJ, April 26, 1941)

KIAMICHI: In 1825 in Red River trade. (S; W)

KIAMICHI: Built in 1845 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; 120 tons; in Red River trade in 1845; Gwin, master. (FLW; S)

KINGFISHER: In March, 1900, the owners of the *Kingfisher* incorporated as the Red River Packet Company of Fulton, Ark., with Capt. B. F. Deffenbaugh as general manager. (WJ, March 10, 1900; *Star*, June 26, 1936)

LA BELLE: Built in 1869 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; hull 239'x35½'x6½'; 4 boilers 38"/26'; cyl. 20½"/6½'; machinery from the *New Era*; Capt. M. N. Wood, master and owner; cost \$60,000; arrived Alexandria from New Orleans, Dec. 13, 1873, on her 14th trip; sank, Feb. 8, 1878, on the Red River near Orleans Landing with a cargo of 2699 bales of cotton; her machinery went in the *Valley Queen*. (FLW; R; W; MHO; S)

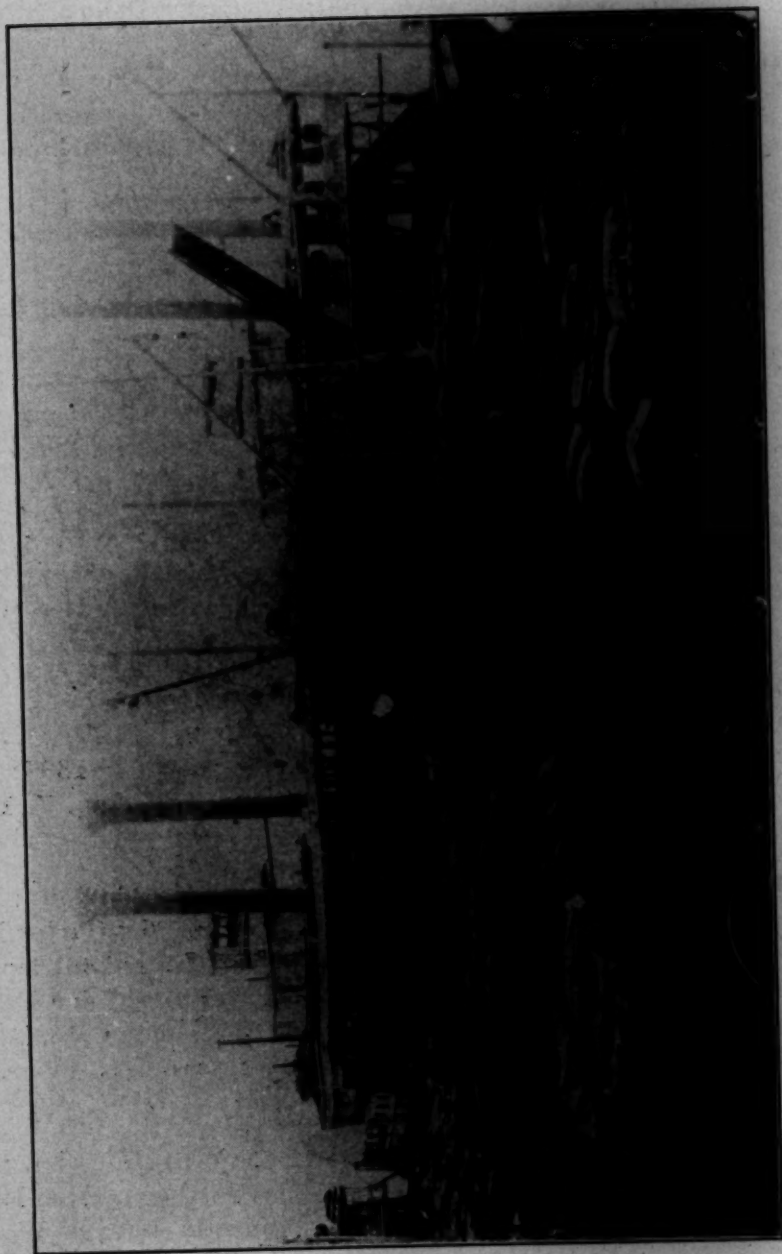
LA CROSSE: Built in 1856 at Pittsburgh; STW; hull 150'x29'x4⅔'; in 1857 in St. Louis-St. Paul trade; Capt. Brickel, master; burned, April 16, 1864, on the Red River. (FLW; W; *Off. Records*)

LADY GRACE: Built in 1865 at Madison, Ind.; hull 190'x33'x6'; 3 boilers, 36"/22'; cyl. 15½"/4½'; David Haney, owner and master; Red River packet in 1866; then Mo. River packet; burned at Omaha, Neb., Jan. 7, 1870. (FLW; W; S)

LADY LEE: Built in 1871 at Pittsburgh; STW; 294 tons; hull 177'x36'x5½'; 3 boilers, 40"/24'; cyl. 16"/6'; Carter Line Company, owners; St. Louis-Red River trade; 1881 lengthened to 227'; sold in 1881 to Mo. River Star Line Packet Company; sunk by snag at Silbey, Mo., on the Mo. River, Feb. 29, 1882; Wm. Ball, master; loss less insurance \$20,000. (FLW; W; R)

LADY WASHINGTON: Built in 1832 at Wheeling, Va.; 96 tons; claimed to have gone 100 miles farther up Red River than any other boat; Capt. English, master. (*Niles' Weekly Register*, XLVIII, 90)

LAFITTE: Arrived at Shreveport, Aug. 2, 1859. (MHO)



STEAMER LA BELLE

LA FOURCHE: Built in 1859 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 563 tons; hull 195'x37'x6½'; reported captured and sunk on Red River in 1864; evidently rebuilt; Red River trade out of New Orleans; Ben B. Kouns, master; May 29, 1869, sent to New Albany, Ind., to be dismantled. (FLW; W; N; R; S; *Louisiana Democrat*, July 1, 1868)

LARKIN EDWARDS: Built in 1857 at New Albany, Ind.; 57 tons; arrived at Shreveport, Aug. 18, 1858; on April 26, 1861, took the Caddo Sportsmen's Military Company to New Orleans from Shreveport; named for the friend and interpreter of the Caddo Indians in 1835. (MHO; FLW)

LAURA LEE: Built in 1875 at Louisville; STW; hull 209'x37½'x6½'; 2 boilers, 46"/20'; cyl. 22"/7'; machinery off str. *Seminole*; 1876-83, in Red River Line Company; H. J. Brinker, Sr., master; later owned by Bayou Sara Packet Company; sunk, 1888, at Conrad's Bar, 7 miles below Baton Rouge. (FLW; R; N; W)

LAUREL HILL: Built in 1859 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; hull 210'x38'x8'; with Porter in 1864; arrived Mobile, April 23, 1865; Carter, master. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

L. DILLARD: Built in 1865 at Shreveport; 100' long; 20' wide; ran on 12" of water and was said to need only a "little dampness" for navigation; left Shreveport on first trip to New Orleans, Dec. 13, 1865. (MHO; S)

LE COMPTE: Built in 1855 at Cincinnati; SW; 238 tons; hull 176'x33'x5½'; 3 boilers; cyl. 22"/7'; arrived Mobile, Nov. 24, 1855; in Red River trade as New Orleans-Shreveport packet; Johnson, master. (*Louisiana Democrat*, May 25, 1858; FLW; W; EFAS)

LE GRAND: Built in 1856 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 533 tons; hull 198'x35½'x5½'; 3 boilers; cyl. 22"/7½'; arrived Mobile for Alabama River trade, Nov. 5, 1856; George Cloudes, master; in 1858 in Red River trade. (FLW; W; EFAS)

LELIA No. 2: Built in 1851 at Cincinnati; 134 tons; burned on Red River, July 28, 1865; had cargo of 381 bales cotton on board. (FLW; W)

LEO: Built in 1868 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 349 tons; hull 165'x40'x61½'; 2 boilers; cyl. 20½"/71½'; built for Mobile & Montgomery Rwy. Co. for transfer connection from Rachod and Blakely, Ala., to Mobile; engines off str. *Vigo* (same Company); Red River trade in 1869; Jas. M. Tucker, master; sold to Texas parties, Sept. 7, 1871; arrived Galveston, Texas, Sept. 20, 1871. (FLW; W)

LEONA: Built in 1856 at Huntington, Va.; SW; 232 tons; Capt. A. Laidley, Henry Taylor and P. S. Drown (clerk), owners; arrived Mobile, Nov. 11, 1856; Henry Taylor, master; sunk, Jan. 1, 1866, below Coushatta, La., on Red River. (FLW; W)

LEOTUS: Screw-propeller towboat built about 1892 by Captain Dammon at Pineville, La. (N; R; J)

LESSIE TAYLOR: Built in 1870; STW; reported as sunk, Feb. 3, 1878, at the mouth of the Atchafalaya River. (FLW; W)

LEVANT: This boat took the issue of the *Red River Herald* of Natchitoches to New Orleans, which contained an account of the fall of the Alamo in 1836. (MD)

LIBERTY No. 2: Built in 1862 at Wheeling, W. Va.; SW; hull 225'x35'x51½'; 3 boilers, 46"/28'; cyl. 22"/7'; in U. S. transport service, 1862-65; with Porter in 1864; dismantled and machinery placed on transfer-boat *J. C. McMullen* at St. Louis. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

LIGHTEST: Built about 1871; upper Red River packet; John T. Root, master; reported sunk, June 17, 1871; location not stated. (FLW; W; MHO)

LIGHTWOOD: Built in 1868 at Portsmouth, Ohio; 155 tons; burned upper works, March 10, 1871; repaired; sunk, Nov. 24, 1886 on Red River. (FLW; W)

LILLIE MARTIN: Built in 1863 at Freedom, Pa.; STW; 220 tons; hull 159'x33'x4'; 2 boilers; 1863-64, in Red River trade; Feb., 1867, in St. Louis-Memphis trade; hit bar at mouth of St. Mary's River below St. Louis, broke in two and total loss. (FLW; W)

LILLIE M. BARLOW: Repairs completed at the Wood Sectional Docks, New Orleans, and departed for Cane River, La., her regular trade, on Jan. 27, 1900. (WJ)

LINDA: Built in 1855 at Cincinnati; 167 tons; in Red River trade Sept. 15, 1857; William Main, master; sank on Red River in Sept., 1858. (EFAS; FLW; W; MHO)

LINDA: Built in 1897 at Shreveport; STW; towboat; hull 78'x20'x31½'; 1 boiler; sank at Jefferson, La., in March, 1898; evidently raised, as there is a record of her burning to water's edge near Vanceville, La., on Red River. (FLW; W; NA; WJ)

LINDEN: Built in 1853 at Gallipolis, Ohio; 140 tons; sank on Red River in 1863. (FLW; W; NA)

LIONESS: Built in 1832 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 160 tons; May 19, 1833, enroute from New Orleans to Red River, cargo of powder stored in hold exploded; boat caught fire at mouth of Rigolette de Bon Dieu, La., and destroyed; L. Cockerell, master. (FLW; LL, p. 83)

LIONESS: Built in 1859 at Pittsburgh; STW; 366 tons; towboat; hull 160'x31'x5'; with Porter on Red River in 1864. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

LITHEBURY: Hull 172'x32'x5'; two boilers, 42"/28'; cabin ran full length of the boat and had landscapes painted by Grachiani; Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1859. (MHO; FLW)

LITTLE FLEETA: In 1870-73, Shreveport-New Orleans packet; sank on Rio Grande River, Sept. 16, 1873; valued at \$8,000. (FLW; S)

LITTLE YAZOO: Alexandria-Grand Ecore packet; F. G. Nearron, master; adv. as drawing 12" water. (*Red River Republican*, 1844)

LIVE OAK: New Orleans-Alexandria packet; John Graham, master. (*Red River Republican*, 1845)

LIVE OAK: Built in 1863; hull 182'x38'x6'; 3 boilers; cyl. 20"/6'; offered for sale, Sept. 15, 1865, at New Orleans; was then in service on Red River; April 11, 1866, Shreveport-New Orleans packet; P. Targarona, master. (FLW; W; *Southwestern*, April 11, 1866)

LIZZIE: Built in 1871 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 429 tons; hull 165'x35'x5'; Red River packet in 1871-73; burned, June 17, 1877; rebuilt; sunk Sept. 10, 1889, while in tow of the str. *Clyde* near Clifton, Tenn. (FLW; S)

LIZZIE HAMILTON: 148 tons; arrived Shreveport from Cypress Bayou, Aug. 5, 1866; left Shreveport, August 16, 1866, for Jefferson with a load of watermelons to be used for water to float the boat over sandbars; condemned in New Orleans district, 1869. (FLW; W; MHO)

LIZZIE HOPKINS: STW; arrived Shreveport, Feb. 19, 1868, from upper Red River; John T. Root, master. (MHO)

LIZZIE REA: Built in 1875; sank on her second trip at night, March 26, 1875, while enroute to Shreveport; valued at \$7,000; Thomas W. Rea, master. (FLW; R; W)

LIZZIE TATE: Built in 1863 at Cincinnati; 184 tons; hull 158'x30'x3'; J. W. Barnes, master; dismantled at Jeffersonville, Ind., in 1869. (FLW; W; MHO)

LLAMA: Built in 1843 at Cincinnati; 66 tons; Red River trade in 1843; W. W. Wetherbury, master. (*Shreveport Times*, June 28, 1935; FLW; S)

LONE STAR: Built in 1852 at Louisville; 126 tons; sunk at Willow Bayou on Red River, Feb. 10, 1860; broke in two. (FLW; W)

LORNA DOONE: Built in 1895 at St. Paul, Minn.; STW tow-boat; hull 6'x12.3'x3.5'; 1 boiler, 36"/12'; cyl. 6"/21½'; sank on first trip on Red River, Jan. 26, 1900; raised; towing business on Red River until 1898. (WJ, Sept. 10, 1938)

LOTTAWANA: Built in 1867 at Marietta, Ohio; STW; 499 tons; hull 155'x35'x5'; 23 staterooms; 2200 bale boat; New Orleans-Jefferson packet; John H. White, master; sank, Feb. 23, 1874, at Round's Raft on Red River. (S; MHO)

LOTUS: In Red River trade in 1840s. (*Shreveport Times*, June 28, 1935)

LOTUS No. 2: Sank on Red River, Aug. 18, 1858; Dowd, master; evidently rebuilt, as was purchased by Capt. M. N. Wood of Shreveport for Red River trade in 1865. (MHO; *Shreveport Times*, June 28, 1935)

LOTUS No. 3: Built in 1866 at Pittsburgh; STW; 232 tons; hull 135'x26'x4'; built out of the *Lotus No. 2* by Captain M. N. Wood of Shreveport; Shreveport-New Orleans packet, 1866-74; C. D. Daniels, master; burned at Waterproof, La., in 1877. (FLW; W; J; S; *Picayune*, June 28, 1874)

LOUIS D'OR: Built in 1860 at Cincinnati; 343 tons; hull 199'x35'x5½'; 3 boilers; cyl. 22"/5½'; sunk, May 30, 1864, on Red River; evidently raised, as adv. in Shreveport *Southwestern*, May 23, 1866, for New Orleans; Cheney Johnson, master. (FLW; EFAS; W; S; MHO)

LOUISIANA: Built in 1840 at Louisville; SW; 631 tons; Memphis-New Orleans trade, Oct. 1, 1841; E. Price, master; burned upper works, Dec. 19, 1842; repaired; T. J. Carey, master; Oct. 1, 1844, collided with and sank str. *Belle of Clarksville*; rebuilt at Jeffersonville, Ind., in 1848; 376 tons register; on Red River in 1848; exploded boilers at New Orleans wharf, Nov. 15, 1849; John W. Cannon, master and owner. (FLW; W; LL, p. 225)

LOUISIANA: Listed as arriving at Shreveport from New Orleans, April 25, 1855; W. H. Talbot, master. (MHO)

LOUISIANA: Arrived at Shreveport, Oct. 13, 1927; used in bank protection work. (MHO)

LOUISVILLE: Built in 1852 at Cincinnati; SW; hull 317'x34'x7'; cyl. 30"/10'; 6 boilers; captured by U. S. forces; refitted as cotton sheathed gunboat and renamed *Ouachita*; with Porter on Red River. (*Off. Records*; FLW)

LOUISVILLE: Built in 1854 at Brownsville, Pa.; STW; 155 tons; hull 153'x30'x4'. (FLW; W)

LUCILLE: See *City of Shreveport*.

LUCY HOLCOMBE: Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1859; William D. Bateman, master. (K; MHO)

LUCY HOPKINS: Built in 1867 at Cincinnati; SW; 270 tons; hull 159'x36'x6'; cyl. 22"/7'; New Orleans-Upper Coast trade; also Red River; dismantled, August 15, 1875; machinery and furnishings into str. *Assumption* of 1875. (FLW; W)

LUDA: Built in 1841 at Cincinnati; SW; 244 tons; New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1855; Thomas Clark, master. FLW; S; W; *N. O. Bee*, Nov. 4, 1841)

LULA D.: Built in 1867 at Evansville, Ind.; STW; 215 tons; hull 134'x34½'x5'; 2 boilers; cyl. 13"/4½'; arrived Shreveport, Feb. 12, 1868; J. Grace, master. (MHO; FLW)

LUNA: Shreveport-Elmer-Sentell, La., packet in 1891. (FLW)

MAGGIE HAYS: Built in 1864 at Pittsburgh; SW; 155 tons; on Red River in 1866; exploded boilers, Feb. 11, 1870, near Helena, Ark., with loss of 20 lives; Martin, master. (FLW; S; W; MHO)

MAGNOLIA BANNER: Built in 1855 at Louisville; 151 tons; on Red River in the 1850s and 1860s; Leonard, master. (FLW; MHO)

MAID OF KENTUCKY: Built in 1840 at Cincinnati; SW; 192 tons; 1843, in New Orleans-Shreveport trade; Ruth Edwards, master. (*Shreveport Times*, June 28, 1935; S)

MAJESTIC: Built in 1864 at Cincinnati; SW; 210 tons; burned at Pointe Coupée, La., on Red River, Oct. 22, 1865, with a cargo of 650 bales of cotton; boat valued at \$35,000; J. C. Dowty of Shreveport, master and owner. (FLW; W)

MANCHESTER: Built in 1836 at Cincinnati; SW; 105 tons; Natchitoches-Vicksburg packet, 1836-41; S. W. Vandegrift, master. (*Reporter*, Jan. 27, 1841; FLW)

MARCELLA: Built in 1863 at Louisville; SW; 300 tons; hull 180'x32'x6'; 4 boilers; cyl. 18"/7'. (FLW; W; WJ)

MARCO: Upper Red River packet in 1880s; Ben B. Bonham, master. (W; R)

MARIA HAMILTON: With Porter in 1864. (*Off. Records*)

MARIA LOUISE: Built in 1871 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 521.34 tons; hull 180'x33½'x6'; 3 boilers; Kountz Line in St. Louis-New Orleans trade until 1875; sold to Red River Line; H. J. Brinker, Sr., master; brought first T. & P. locomotives to Alexandria in 1881, with the *Henry Frank*. (FLW; R; J; N; *Town Talk*, March 27, 1933)

MARION: Built in 1854 at Louisville; 133 tons; sunk in 1856; raised; Alexandria-Shreveport packet; F. V. Cellos, master. (*Red River American*, Nov. 13, 1858; FLW)

MARMORA: Built in 1836 at New Albany, Ind.; 274 tons; this packet was sued by owners of str. *Black Hawk* for damages sustained in 1838 on Red River. (MHO; FLW)

MARMORA: Built in 1867; STW; Vicksburg-Grand Ecore packet; burned, Feb. 16, 1867, at Skipwith's Landing. (FLW; W)

MARS: Built in 1863 at Cincinnati; SW; 329 tons; hull 180' x 34' x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ '; 3 boilers, 46"/28'; cyl. 20"/7'; Sombert & Company, owners; E. B. McPherson, master; Mo. River packet; with Porter on Red River in 1864; sunk, May 10, 1865, at Cogswell Landing, Mo. River. (*Off. Records*; FLW)

MARY BESS: Built in 1852 at Louisville; SW; hull 165'x33'x6'; cyl. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ "/7'; built for Alabama River trade and arrived at Mobile, Oct. 6, 1852; Sam Montgomery, master; Red River packet in 1856. (FLW; S; K)

MARY E. FORSYTHE: Built in 1862 at Pittsburgh; SW; 621 tons; hull 254'x40'x7'; 4 boilers, 46"/28'; cyl. 25"/8'; SW were 30' diam. with 14' buckets; capacity 1000 tons; cost \$55,000; M. H. Symmes, master; Atlantic & Mississippi Steamship Company, owners; in U. S. transport service; Red River, 1868-70; June 3, 1873, sunk on Bayou Biloxi, Chandelier Island, Gulf of Mexico; was then enroute from Mound City, Ill., to Pensacola, Fla., with heavy load of U. S. ordnance when caught in squall and wrecked. (FLW; W; *Off. Records*)

MARY E. POE: Built in 1871 at Cincinnati; STW; 296 tons; hull 188'x33'x5'; 3 boilers; cyl. 17"/5'; carried 500 tons; machinery off str. *Glendale*; Thomas E. Poe, owner and master; cost \$26,000; on Red River, 1871-73, as Carter Line packet; burned, Oct. 17, 1873, at Daniel's Point near Island No. 26 on Mississippi River; valued at \$40,000. (FLW; W)

MARY HEIN: Built in 1865 at Cincinnati; Shreveport-New Orleans packet; John Hein, master; burned on Red River, Feb. 28, 1866, while enroute from Shreveport to New Orleans with 600 bales of cotton in cargo. (FLW; W; *Cincinnati Commercial*, Oct. 22, 1865)

MARY LOU: Small STW towboat on Red River in 1931. (WJ)

MARY LOWERY: Built in 1871 at Pittsburgh; 210 tons; burned at New Orleans, Feb. 20, 1876; valued at \$3,000. (FLW; W)

MARY T.: Built in 1861; SW 32' diameter with 12' buckets; hull 185'x34'x8 $\frac{3}{4}$ '; 4 boilers, 40"/26'; cyl. 22"/8'; March 27, 1861, owned by New Orleans and LaFourche Packet Company; Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1862; on March 19, 1863, outfitted as a Confederate gunboat and renamed *J. A. Cotton*; captured by U. S. forces on Red River at Shreveport, June, 1865; original owners claim boat had been confiscated by Confed. Gov't.; boat sent to Mound City by U. S. forces. (*Off. Records*; FLW; W; S)

MATTIE: Built in 1863 at Paducah, Ky.; STW; hull 134'x30'x4'; 2 boilers; with Porter in 1864; sunk, May 14, 1867, at Bayou Bartholomew, La., 55 miles above the mouth of Red River. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

MATTIE COOK: Built in 1860 at Madison, Ind.; 120 tons; Sept. 16, 1862, while in Cairo and Evansville, Ind., trade, captured and burned on Ohio River by Confederates; evidently raised, as on Red River in 1866. (W; FLW; S; *Off. Records*)

MAY DUKE: Built in 1865; adv. Oct. 17, 1865, as regular Memphis-Little Rock packet, alternate weekly trips to White River; Houston, master; also on Red River in 1867-68. (FLW; W)

MAYFLOWER: Built in 1867 at Cincinnati; SW; 564 tons; hull 212'x34 $\frac{1}{2}$ 'x5 $\frac{1}{2}$ '; 4 boilers; cyl. 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ "/7'; 1868, in Memphis-Evansville trade; 1869, Shreveport-New Orleans trade; 1873, made one trip for the Anchor Line, Memphis-New Orleans; dismantled at St. Louis in Oct., 1874. (FLW; MHO)

MEDORA: Built in 1845 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 198 tons; exploded boilers, Feb. 12, 1847, at Port Hudson while enroute New Orleans to Natchitoches; S. F. Miller, master. (FLW; W; LL, p. 291)

MESSENGER: Built in 1855 at Belle Vernon, Pa.; STW; 406 tons; a very fast boat, opposition to Minnesota Packet Company; 1857, raced with *Key City* for championship of upper Mississippi and lost; sunk, Sept. 1, 1859, opposite Bayou Sara, La., when in Red River trade. (FLW; W)

METEOR: Built in 1845 at Cincinnati; SW; 153 tons; hull 160'x30'x5½'; on Jan. 8, 1847, landed at De Loache's Bluff at the old French settlement of Plaisance above Boyce, La., then known as Cotile Landing, with freight for E. F. A. Shackelford, Sr.; sunk by collision with str. *William Paris* on August 28, 1848, 4 miles below Shreveport on Red River. (EFAS; FLW; W; S; LL, p. 283)

METEOR No. 3: Built in 1847 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 162 tons; hull 154½'x23'x4½'; Red River packet; burned, October 11, 1850, 50 miles above New Orleans; 3 lives lost. (FLW; W; LL, p. 282)

METEOR: Built in 1857 at Louisville; SW; 417 tons; hull 233'x36'x6'; 4 boilers, 40"/30'; cyl. 24½"/8'; T. E. Draffin, master; Mo. River trade; carried 900 tons; 1861, seized by U. S. Gov't. on Mo. River for refusing to reopen Mo. River trade (due to large C. S. A. feeling along the Mo. River); later known as *Meteor No. 44*; tinclad gunboat with Porter on Red River. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

MEXICO: Arrived at Shreveport from New Orleans, April 25, 1855; John Lawless, master. (MHO)

MIAMI: Built in 1839 at Murfreesville, Va.; SW; 114 tons; New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1840s; McClure, master. (*Reporter*, Jan. 27, 1841; FLW)

MILTON RELF: Shreveport-New Orleans packet, 1859-64; burned at Shreveport, May 30, 1864, to prevent falling into hands of U. S. forces. (FLW; MHO)

MINNA: STW; hull 111'x26½'x4½'; purchased by Red River Line for upper Red River trade in 1900. (WJ, Sept. 22, 1900)

MINNIE: Built in 1865 at Pittsburgh; SW; 445 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans packet; burned at New Orleans in 1868. (FLW; W)

MINNIE: Built in 1897 at Logansport, La.; hull 111'x26'x4½'; sunk, Nov. 20, 1900, at Lakepoint, La., on Red River. (FLW; W)

MISSOURI: Built in 1863 at Shreveport; recessed CW 22½' diam. with 17' buckets; hull 183'x53½'x10½'; Confederate gunboat armored with railroad iron (T) rail; captured on Red River, June 14, 1865, and taken to Mound City, Ill. (FLW; W; S; *Off. Records*)

MITTIE STEVENS: Built in 1862 at Madison, Ind.; SW; 312 tons; hull 170'x29'x4'; 3 boilers; cyl. 17"/5'; with Porter in 1864; burned on Lake Caddo, La., Feb. 5, 1869; 3 lives lost. (FLW; W; *Off. Records*)

M. L. DAUGHERTY: Built in 1853 at Elizabeth, Pa.; 95 tons; (also adv. as *Mary L. Daugherty*); Memphis-White River packet; John Whiteside & Company of Pocahontas, Ark., owners; sunk, Dec. 8, 1854, on White River; raised; New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1856; fate unknown (FLW; MHO)

MOLLIE ABLE: Built in 1864 at Louisville; SW; 1123 tons; hull 295'x53'x8'; 5 boilers, 46"/26'; cyl. 32"/8'; St. Louis-New Orleans trade; Henry Symmes, master; rebuilt in 1867; wrecked by cyclone at East St. Louis, March 8, 1871; rebuilt; Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1878. (MHO; FLW)

MOLLIE FELLOWS: On Red River in 1866; Hugh Derby, master. (MHO; *South-Western*, May 23, 1866)

MOLLIE MOORE: Built in 1870 at Pittsburgh; STW; 412 tons; hull 265'x40'x4½'; 3 boilers; cyl. 12"/26"/5' common stroke (Hartuppe engines); Kountz Line; George Moore, master; cost \$42,000; had one smoke stack painted red; on Red River two seasons; caught on bank at Chamberlain, S. Dakota, 1881, slid into river and sank; then owned by Mollie Moore Transport Company of St. Louis. (FLW; W)

MONDIANA: Built in 1845; Alexandria-New Orleans packet; Delehanty, master. (FLW)

MONTEREY: In 1840s New Orleans-Shreveport packet; W. W. Wetherbury, master. (S; *Caddo Gazette*, 1844)

MONTGOMERY: Built in 1847 at Louisville; SW; 704 tons; hull 235'x34'x7'; 5 boilers; 42"/28'; cyl. 25"/10'; cost \$70,000; arrived Mobile, Nov. 17, 1847, for Ala. River trade; F. M. Johnson, master; in 1850, New Orleans-Vicksburg packet; J. H. Estes, master; burned, 33 miles below Vicksburg, Nov. 7, 1851; evidently rebuilt; New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1857-58; in 1861, New Orleans-Louisville packet; Sam Montgomery, master. (FLW; W; EFAS; *Crescent*, Jan. 21, 1850; *Picayune*, April 11, 1861; LL, p. 290)

MOONSON: Built in 1863 at Cincinnati; SW; 564 tons; hull 182'x33'x6'; 4 boilers, 46"/28'; cyl. 18"/7'; cost \$45,000; J. M. Tucker, master; sunk, Dec. 26, 1868, in Prudhomme Bend on Red River. (FLW; W; *Louisiana Democrat*, July 1, 1868)

MORGAN NELSON: Built in 1860 at Middleport, Ohio; STW; 109 tons; in Red River in 1860. (S; MHO; FLW)

MORNING LIGHT: Built in 1858 at Belle Vernon, Pa.; 198 tons; New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1859. (FLW; S; MHO)

MORO: Red River packet in 1853; in C. S. naval service transporting supplies from Red River ports to Port Hudson, La., in 1862-63; captured above the mouth of Red River on Feb. 8, 1863, by U. S. ram *Queen of the West*. (FLW; W; MHO; K; *Off. Records*; Scharf)

MORO CASTLE: Built in 1847 at Cincinnati; SW; 298 tons; Red River packet in late 1850s and early 1860s; burned, Feb. 1863, at mouth of Red River by U. S. forces. (Cincinnati *Commercial Bulletin*, 1849; FLW; W; *Off. Records*)

MOUNTAINEER: Built in 1867 at Metropolis, Ill.; SW; 585 tons; hull 205'x34½'x5½'; 3 boilers, 44"/24'; cyl. 20"/7'; carried 950 tons; cost \$40,000; D. S. Carter & Company of St. Louis, owners; Shreveport-St. Louis trade in 1870s; sunk when hit rocks at Glasgow, Mo., on the Mo. River, Oct. 26, 1873; raised and repaired. (FLW; W)

MUSIC: Built in 1850 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 273 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1850s; Thomas Clark, master. (FLW; W; MHO)

NAT. F. DORTCH: Built in 1889 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 302.88 tons; Red River Line; New Orleans-Shreveport packet; sank on Lake Ninock, 28 miles south of Shreveport; total loss, 1895; remains of wreck visible forty years after at low water. (*Shreveport Times*, Sept. 11, 1938; R; N; W)

NATHAN HALE: Built in 1843 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 248 tons; hull 136'x22'x5'; single engine; Natchitoches-New Orleans packet by Cane and Little rivers in 1844; Benoist, master. (FLW; W; S; *Southern Transcript*, 1844)

NATIONAL: Built in 1854 at Louisville; SW; 248 tons; hull 173'x30'x6'; 3 boilers, 42"/34'; cyl. 18"/7'; Memphis-White River packet; J. S. McManus, master; sunk, Jan., 1855; raised; New Orleans-Shreveport packet, 1857-60; P. C. Montgomery, master; dismantled in 1860. (FLW; W; EFAS; *Louisiana Democrat*, May 25, 1858)

NAVIGATOR: Built in 1854 at Pittsburgh; STW; 300 tons; St. Louis-St. Paul trade in 1854-55; Capt. Wm. Dean, owner; A. T. Champlin, master; sold to Kouns Line for Red River trade in 1857; sank on Red River in 1867; Isaac H. Kouns, master. (FLW; W; S; NA; MHO)

NEPTUNE: Built in 1820 at New Orleans; 50 tons; in 1820, Natchitoches-New Orleans packet. (S; FLW)

NEPTUNE: Built in 1828; home port, New Orleans; SW; 180 tons. (FLW; W)

NEPTUNE: Built in 1852 at Brownsville, Pa.; SW; 214 tons; dismantled in 1858. (FLW; W)

NEW ALBANY: Built in 1848 at New Albany, Ind.; 74 tons; (FLW; W)

NEW ALBANY: Built in 1858; Shreveport-New Orleans trade. (MHO)

NEWARK: Built in 1836 at Pittsburgh; 88 tons; sunk, Jan. 21, 1839, 20 miles below Alexandria, La. (FLW)

NEW BRAZIL: Built in 1842 at Cincinnati; SW; 166 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans trade; A. C. Cummings, master. (FLW; W; S)

NEW ERA: Built in 1843 at Cincinnati; SW; 246 tons; hull 198'x36'x6 $\frac{1}{2}$ '; 4 boilers; cyl. 26"/10'; duplicate of str. *New World* of 1843; Alabama River trade until 1846; then Red River trade. (FLW; W; S)

NEW ERA: Red River in 1860; arrived Mobile, July 6, 1865, when in U. S. transport service; purchased by Capt. M. N. Wood in 1865 for Red River trade; dismantled at New Orleans, Oct. 19, 1869. (FLW; EFAS; W; S)

NEW FALLS CITY: Built in 1858; SW; hull 311'x45'x7 $\frac{1}{2}$ '; 6 boilers, 46"/28'; cyl. 30"/9'; sunk on Red River above Springfield Landing in 1864, to prevent passage U. S. fleet. (*Off. Records*; FLW)

NEW GEORGE: On Red River in 1872. (S)

NEW HAVEN: Built about 1880; STW; hull 110' long; 800 bale boat; Ben B. Bonham, master; upper river trade. (W; R)

NEW NATIONAL: Built in 1862 out of dismantled *National* of 1854; captured by Federals in 1863; with Porter in 1864; Shreveport-New Orleans packet, 1866-69; Richard Sinnot, master. (FLW; S; MHO; *South-Western*, May 23, 1866; *Louisiana Democrat*, Nov. 24, 1869)

NEW WORLD: Built in 1843 at Cincinnati; SW; 246 tons; hull 198'x36'x6 $\frac{1}{2}$ '; 4 boilers; cyl. 26"/10'; duplicate of str. *New Era* of 1843; arrived Mobile, Dec. 12, 1843; Stewart, master; Red River, 1846-48; dismantled; evidently rebuilt as operated on Red River in 1850s by Capt. M. N. Wood. (FLW; W)

NEW WORLD: Rebuilt from *New World* of 1843 in 1849 at Cincinnati; 199 tons; Red River in 1850s; M. N. Wood, owner. (FLW; MHO)

NEWS BOY: Built in 1855; Red River in 1858; J. Boisseau, master; arrived Mobile from New Orleans on Oct. 28, 1859; New Orleans-Camden packet in 1861; E. W. Outlaw, master. (*Picayune*, April 11, 1861; FLW; W)

NICK or NICHOLAS BIDDLE: Built in 1836 at Cincinnati; SW; 157 tons; New Orleans-Natchitoches packet, 1836-42; Jan. 8, 1837, arrived New Orleans from Shreveport with

248 bales of cotton; first boat to identify the Port of Shreveport; English, master; sunk on July 25, 1837, 45 miles above Vicksburg; evidently raised, as *Louisville Journal* lists name as among those sunk 1842. (FLW; W; S; LL, p. 285)

NICK WALL: Built in 1869 at Pittsburgh; STW; 338 tons; hull 182'x32'x4'; 3 boilers, 36"/24'; cyl. 15¼"/5'; Thomas E. Poe, master and owner; Mo. River trade to Fort Benton; sank, April 26, 1869, at Wyoming, Iowa; raised; sunk, Dec. 23, 1870, enroute St. Louis to Shreveport; Howard Bro-laski, master. (FLW; W)

NINA SIMMS: Built in 1860; home port, New Orleans; SW; New Orleans-Bends packet; burned, May 30, 1864, at Shreveport to prevent falling into hands of U. S. forces; rebuilt; sunk, June 17, 1869, 25 miles below Bayou Sara, La., while in Red River trade. (FLW; W)

NORMA: Built in 1839 at Louisville; SW; 188 tons; 1839-40, in New Orleans-Vicksburg trade; 1840-42, New Orleans, Lake Bisteneau and Shreveport packet; J. Brodix, master; arrived, Oct. 11, 1842, at Mobile for Alabama River trade; sunk, May 4, 1846, on Mobile Bay with 600 bales of cotton. (FLW; W; S; *Red River Whig*, Feb. 26, 1842)

NORTH RIVER: Built in 1847 at Shousetown, Pa.; 242 tons; left St. Louis, Nov. 13, 1850, for Red River. (FLW)

OCEANUS: Built in 1870 at California, Pa.; STW; 365 tons; hull 180'x40½'x5½'; 3 boilers, 40"/28'; cyl. 18"/6'; Capt. Cox, owner; sold to the Carter Line in 1871; Shreveport-St. Louis packet, 1871-72; Horace Bixby of Mark Twain fame, master in 1871; exploded boilers at Brooks Point, 20 miles above Cairo, Ill., Apr. 11, 1872; A. Reeder, master; 34 lives lost; then in St. Louis and Red River trade; Carter Line. (FLW; W; S)

OLD BARGE: No record except sank on Red River near Shreveport. (MHO)

OMAHA: Built in 1900 as str. *Lora*; STW; hull 150'x30'x4½'; sold to Carter Packet Company of New Orleans, Aug. 3, 1912; complete overhauling by Canulettes of Slidell, La., in 1914 and placed in Red River trade; May 30, 1914, beat

the *Mary S. Brees* in a race; sold to Liberty Transit Co. of Pittsburgh, Sept. 28, 1918, and renamed the *General Pershing*; sunk on Ohio River and abandoned. (FLW; R; N; WJ, July 30, 1932; Sept. 24, 1938)

ORB: Built in 1854 at Wheeling, Va.; STW; 226 tons; sank, May 18, 1860, at Forked Dee Island on Mississippi River while enroute from Pittsburgh to Red River. (FLW)

ORELINE: New Orleans-Alexandria packet; James Graham, master. (*Planters' Banner*, Nov. 19, 1846)

OSAGE: Built in 1863 at St. Louis; 331 tons; sank on Sodo Lake near Shreveport. (MHO; FLW)

OSCEOLA: Built in 1849; last record, arrived at Shreveport from New Orleans in 1858. (MHO)

OSCEOLA: Built in 1858 at Louisville; 158 tons; sank in 1859; had machinery from *Osceola* of 1849; rebuilt in 1859. (FLW)

OSCEOLA: Built in 1859 at Mobile; 267 tons; machinery off *Osceola* of 1849; Red River trade; also Alabama River trade; dismantled in 1873 at Mobile. (FLW; W; MHO)

OSCEOLA: Built in 1883 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 152 tons; hull 130'x23'x4'; Shreveport-Jefferson packet. (FLW; W)

OSCEOLA: Built in 1895 at New Orleans; STW; 75 tons; Alexandria-New Orleans packet; sunk, Jan. 10, 1901, at Pigeon Point, La.; valued at \$9,000. (FLW; W; R; N; *Town Talk*, Jan. 12, 1901)

OSPREY: Built in 1856; home port, Franklin, La.; 144 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1857. (FLW; W; MHO)

OUACHITA: Built in 1852 as str. *Louisville*; renamed *Ouachita*; SW; 720 tons; 39 guns; hull 227'x34'x7'; 6 boilers; cyl. 30"/10'; U. S. reports on May 18, 1863, str. *Ouachita* captured from Confederates and refitted as U. S. gunboat *Ouachita*; with Porter on Red River in 1864; adv. for sale at Mound City, Ill., Aug. 17, 1865. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

OZARK: Built in 1865 at Cincinnati; STW; 281 tons; hull 155'x29'x31½'; 2 boilers, 38"/18'; cyl. 12"/31½'; cost \$30,000; on Ark. and Red rivers. (FLW; W)

PANAMA: Built in 1842 at Brownsville, Pa.; SW; 97 tons; hull 132'x20½'x3¾'; single engine; Alexandria to mouth of Red River where freight and passengers transferred to str. *Clinton* for New Orleans. (FLW; *Transcript & Whig*, Dec., 1845)

PANOLA: Built in 1839 at Cincinnati; 136 tons. (FLW; *Reporter*, Dec. 21, 1839)

PANOLA: Built in 1844 at Cincinnati; 120 tons. (FLW; *Reporter*, Jan. 29, 1844)

PATRICK HENRY: Built in 1840 at Cincinnati; SW; 161 tons; Natchitoches-Vicksburg packet in 1841; Hord, master. (*Reporter*, Jan. 27, 1841; FLW)

PAULINE: Burned May 30, 1864, at Shreveport to prevent falling into hands of U. S. forces. (FLW; Cincinnati *Enquirer*, May 30, 1864)

PEERLESS: On Red River in 1858; J. C. Dowty, master. (S; MD)

PENINAH: Sank by hitting bridge on Red River, Feb. 13, 1867. (NA)

PENINAH: Built in 1876 at Pittsburgh; STW; hull 205'x33'x5'; 3 boilers, 38"/22'; cyl. 14"/4½'; machinery off *Peninah*, 1868; had first wild cat whistle on Red River, which frightened Negroes and teams; burned, Nov. 7, 1887, on Red River. (FLW; W; MHO)

PERSEVERANCE: Built in 1818 on Ohio River; SW; home port, New Orleans; one of the early boats on Red River. (FLW; W)

PERSEVERANCE: Listed at Shreveport from New Orleans, April 25, 1855; Henry Place, master. (MHO)

PERSIAN: Built in 1836 at Cincinnati; SW; 430 tons; New Orleans-Shreveport packet; Jesse Hart, master; exploded boilers, Nov. 1, 1840, at Napoleon, La.; 23 lives lost; 30 scalded; repaired. (*N. O. Bee*, Nov. 4, 1840; FLW; W)

PETER DELMAU: Built in 1851 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 365 tons; hull 200'x31'x6'; Natchitoches-New Orleans packet; Wm. Kay, master. (FLW; W; *Louisiana Democrat*, 1852)

P. F. KIMBALL: Built in 1851 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 312 tons; hull 200'x33'x6'; 1851-58, New Orleans-Grand Ecore packet; Wm. Kimball, master; sold to Capt. Greer for independent Alabama River trade in 1858; arrived at Mobile, Sept. 4, 1858. (FLW; W; EFAS; *Louisiana Democrat*, 1852)

PHIL E. CHAPPELL: Built in 1877 at Grafton, Ill.; STW; hull 165'x29'x4½'; 2 boilers; cyl. 15"/5½'; Missouri River packet until about 1882; New Orleans-Shreveport packet, 1882-88; sunk on Red River, March 10, 1888. (D; FLW; W; R)

PICAYUNE: Built in 1840 at Smithland, Ky.; STW; 79 tons; 9" draft; arrived Mobile, Nov. 12, 1840, from New Orleans; Robertson, master; 1841-47, Alexandria-Breaux Bridge packet; Sam Irwin, master. (FLW; W; *Planters' Banner*, Nov. 19, 1846)

PIONEER: The second boat to ascend the Rigolette de Bon Dieu in 1832; followed the *John B. Laeledge*. (MD)

PIONEER ERA: Owned by Red River Packet Company in 1865; New Orleans-Shreveport packet in the 1860s; W. T. Scovell, master. (W; S)

PIOTA: Built in 1856; Alexandria-Natchitoches packet; E. Parker, master; burned on her second trip in 1856. (EFAS; S; MD)

PIOTA No. 2: Built in fall of 1856; Natchitoches-New Orleans packet, 1857-60; E. Parker, master ("Parker is obliged to all"). (EFAS; S; MD)

PITZER MILLER or PATSY MILLER: Built in 1848 at Freedom, Pa.; SW; 158 tons; 2 boilers; Memphis-Hatchie River trade in 1849-50; 1852, New Orleans-Shreveport trade; wreck removed by U. S. snagboat *C. W. Howell* in 1894. (FLW; S; USED, 1894, Vol. III, p. 1435)

PLANTER: Built in 1831 at Pittsburgh; 116 tons; New Orleans-Natchitoches packet; Blanchard, master. (FLW)

PLANTER: Built in 1842 at Cincinnati; SW; 119 tons; arrived at Mobile, June 27, 1842, for Tombigbee River trade; Wm. Berkley, master; 1844-47, New Orleans-Shreveport packet; M. W. Lodwick, master. (FLW; W; S; *Southern Transcript*, May 29, 1844)

PLANTER: Built about 1853; on June 5, 1857, this boat rescued passengers from the *St. Charles* which sank at Devil's Elbow, near Shreveport. (FLW)

PLAQUEMINE: Built in 1828 at Cincinnati; 66 tons; New Orleans-Alexandria packet; Frire, master. (FLW)

P. MILLER: Built in 1838 at Pittsburgh; SW; 150 tons; 1838-41, New Orleans-Shreveport packet; John Smoker, master; arrived at Mobile, Feb. 4, 1841; John Hein, master; returned to New Orleans, Feb. 8, 1841, with large party of Bay and Seminole Indians being deported to Indian Territory; Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1842; John Hein, master; perhaps rebuilt into the *Patsy Miller* of 1848. (FLW; W; *Red River Whig*, Feb. 26, 1842)

PONCHATOULA: Alexandria-Natchitoches packet; date unknown, as data taken from an undated ad. in an unidentified newspaper. (N; MHO)

POST BOY: Built in 1851 at Cincinnati; SW; 157 tons; New Orleans-Grand Ecore packet in 1852; burned at New Orleans, Feb. 15, 1853, with strs. *John Swazey* and *Texas*. (FLW; W; S; EFAS)

PRINCESS: Built in 1855 at Cincinnati; SW; hull 285'x38'x9'; 6 boilers, 40"/30'; cyl. 35"/9'; Vicksburg-New Orleans trade; Truman Holmes, master; record, New Orleans-Donaldsonville, four hours, 51 minutes in 1856; Red River in 1857; exploded boilers, Feb. 27, 1859, near Natchez. (FLW; W; EFAS)

PRINCESS: Evidently rebuilt out of *Princess* which exploded boilers in 1859; Shreveport-New Orleans packet during Civil War; exploded boilers at falls above Alexandria in 1866; Mr. E. F. A. Shackelford, Sr., was a passenger; several lives lost. (EFAS)

PRIVATEER: Built in 1832 at Pittsburgh; SW; 146 tons; passed Memphis, July 2, 1834, enroute to New Orleans; May, 1836, arrived at New Orleans from Coates' Bluff; Mather, master; Nov., 1836, advertised to leave New Orleans for Alexandria, Natchitoches and Coates' Bluff trade; first boat to advertise this trade; May, 1837, left New Orleans with U. S. supplies for Fort Gibson, Indian Territory; Capt. Mather, master. (FLW; W; S)

P. W. STRADER: Built in 1866 at Cincinnati; SW; hull 230'x36'x6'; 3 boilers, 46"/28'; cyl. 18½"/7'; machinery from str. *Diamond*; Cincinnati-Louisville trade in 1866; Albert Stein, master; arrived at Alexandria from New Orleans on her first trip, Dec. 8, 1873; burned at New Orleans, March 9, 1874; valued at \$5,000. (FLW; W; J; *Town Talk*, Dec. 8, 1873)

QUEEN OF THE WEST: Built in 1854 at Cincinnati; SW; 407 tons; hull 181'x36'x6'; 3 boilers; Cincinnati-New Orleans trade; sold, June, 1861, to U. S. Gov't.; refitted as one of Ellett's rams; on Feb. 11, 1863, raided lower Red River capturing the steamers *A. W. Baker*, *Moro*, *Berwick Bay* and *Era No. 5*; ran aground by Confederate pilot on same day and captured by C. S. A. forces near Fort De Russy; the Federal crew escaped on the *Era No. 5*; towed to Alexandria, La.; repaired and commissioned as C. S. A. gunboat on Feb. 19, 1863; sunk in the Battle of Grand Lake, April 14, 1863, by Federal naval forces. (FLW; *Off. Records*; Scharf)

RANGER: New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1883; arrived at Alexandria, September 29, 1883. (*Town Talk*, March 17, 1933)

RAPIDE: Arrived Natchitoches, May 13, 1834; Isaac Wright, master. (*Red River Chronicle*, May 14, 1834)

RAPIDES: Built in 1855 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 414 tons; New Orleans-Donaldsonville trade in 1856; New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1857-58; J. C. Dowty, master. (EFAS; FLW; W; S)

RAPIDES: Built in 1859 at Cincinnati; SW; 415 tons; evidently rebuilt out of the *Rapides* of 1855; New Orleans-Shreveport packet, 1859-63; J. C. Dowty, master; sunk, Feb. 28, 1876, 25 miles below Baton Rouge with a cargo from the Tensas River. (FLW; W; S; EFAS; *Picayune*, April 11, 1861; *Louisiana Democrat*, July 1, 1861)

RED CHIEF: New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1850s; perhaps rebuilt into *Red Chief No. 2*. (W; MHO)

RED CHIEF No. 2: Built in 1859 at Pittsburgh; 86 tons; Red River, 1859-63; arrived Mobile, May 14, 1865, in U. S. transport service. (FLW; W; *Off. Records*)

RED CLOUD: Built in 1870; STW; hull 165'x27'x5'; Kouns Line; Shreveport-New Orleans packet; sunk in Dec., 1870; rebuilt in 1871. (WJ, March 13, 1937; *Memphis Avalanche*, Dec. 10, 1870; FLW)

RED CLOUD: Built in 1871 at Pittsburgh; STW; hull 172'x34'x4½'; 3 boilers; cyl. 16½"/5½'; burned, June 27, 1871, on Red River with cargo 900 bales; H. J. Brinker, Sr., master; machinery into *Red Cloud* (3rd). (FLW; W; WJ; S; MHO)

RED RIVER: Built in 1850 at Marietta, Ohio; SW; 276 tons; left Cincinnati, May 3, 1856, for New Orleans; in New Orleans-Shreveport trade in 1856-57. (FLW; W)

RED RIVER: Built in 1899 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 97 tons; hull 155'x28'x3½'; 2 boilers; Carter Packet Company, owners; sank from overloading at Alexandria, La., about 1903; total loss; H. M. Carter, master. (N; R; *Town Talk* files)

RED ROVER: Formerly str. *John Simonds* which sank at Island No. 10; raised and converted into U. S. hospital boat in 1861 and renamed *Red Rover*; with Porter in 1864. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

RED SHIELD: Built by Capt. M. N. Wood and in Confederate transport service during the war. (MHO; *Off. Records*)

R. E. HILL: Built in 1863 at Warsaw, Ill.; 103 tons; hull 128'x22'x4'; with Porter in 1864; sunk at Ox Bow on the Yazoo River. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

REPUBLIC: Built in 1842 at Cincinnati; 142 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans packet; Isaac Wright, master in 1842, Joseph P. Lodwick in 1843. (FLW; W; S; *Caddo Gazette*, 1843)

RESIDENT: Advertised at Sheriff's Sale on May 22, 1861; could be inspected in Bayou Rapides. (*Louisiana Democrat*, May 22, 1861)

REUBEN WHITE: Built in 1856 at Murraysville, Va.; 111 tons; laid over at Grand Ecore from June to Sept. 19, 1860, because of low water preventing her going to Shreveport. (FLW; W; MHO)

REVENUE: Built in 1834 at Louisville; SW; 122 tons; Natchitoches-New Orleans packet, 1834-40. (S; W; FLW)

REX: Hull 126'x24'x3'; Shreveport-Garland, Ark., trade; 20th trip in June, 1891; William M. Michael, master. (FLW)

REX: Only data, this new boat in operation 60 days, sank at White Cliffs, 14 miles above Shreveport, Feb. 16, 1901; William M. Michael, master & owner. (WJ, Feb. 16, 1901)

RICHMOND: Built in 1866 at Pittsburgh; STW; 427 tons; hull 159'x33'x5'; 2 boilers; cyl. 16"/6'; sunk 12 miles below Shreveport on Red River, Dec. 7, 1869; W. T. Boardman, master. (FLW; W; S)

RIGHT WAY: Built in 1867 at Freedom, Pa.; STW; 291 tons; exploded boilers on July 27, 1870, on Bayou Lafourche; 9 lives lost; Noah Scovell, master. (FLW; W)

RINALDO: Red River packet in 1862; James E. Phelps, master. (MHO)

R. J. LOCKWOOD: Built in 1864 at St. Louis; 210'x34'x5'; 3 boilers; cyl. 15"/5'; Mo. River trade; in U. S. transport service, 1864-65; with Porter on Red River, 1864; arrived Mobile, April 14, 1865, with U. S. troops; exploded boilers, March 1, 1866, 18 miles below Memphis; 30 lives lost; evidently raised, as Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1870-72; Carter Line; James Caghill, master. (FLW; S)

R. M. JONES: Built in 1851 at Newport, Ky.; 193 tons; remains of wreck on Red River removed by snagboat *Algerine* in July, 1857. (MHO; W; FLW; S)

ROBERTA: Sunk when she hit the bridge at Grand Ecore. (NA)

ROBERT EMMET: With Porter in 1864. (*Off. Records*)

ROBERT FULTON: Built in 1840 at Pittsburgh; 199 tons; reported sold at New Orleans at Sheriff's Sale on Oct. 28, 1841, in the *New Orleans Bee* of Nov. 4, 1841; Alexandria-New Orleans packet in 1847; Len Moore, master; last record at St. Paul, Minn., July 3, 1851. (FLW; W; S)

ROB ROY: Built in 1834 at Louisville; SW; 192 tons; New Orleans-Natchitoches packet; exploded boilers at Columbia, Ark., May 19, 1836. (FLW; W; S)

ROB ROY: Built in 1864 at Portsmouth, Ohio; STW; 308 tons; with Porter in 1864; May 12, 1865, a str. *Rob Roy* under arrest by U. S. fleet on Red River charged with "trading with the enemy"; Shreveport-Cincinnati packet in 1868. (FLW; MHO; *Off. Records*)

ROBT. E. LEE: Built in 1869 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; hull 300'x45'x10'; 8 boilers; cyl. 40"/10'; paddle wheels 40' diam. and 16½' wide, 24 buckets to each wheel; main cabin 260'; Texas was 150' long; chimneys were 75' high and 6' diameter; main deck 81' wide; John W. Cannon, owner and master; on July 2, 1870, raced the *Natchez* from New Orleans to St. Louis, a distance of 1218 miles; won race; record was 3 days, 18 hours and 14 minutes; on Aug. 9, 1870, arrived at Shreveport from St. Louis with a barge in tow with a large cargo of jugs; this is only record of the *Lee* on Red River. (*Southwestern*, Aug. 10, 1870)

ROBT. LYTEL: Built in 1842 at Cincinnati; SW; 159 tons; Louisville-St. Louis packet until sank, Sept. 23, 1842, at Doolin's Slough near Commerce, Mo., on the Mississippi River; raised and placed in New Orleans-Shreveport trade; Joseph P. Lodwick, master; sunk above Grand Bayou on the Red River, Dec. 16, 1844, with 600 bales cotton in cargo. (FLW; W; S; *Caddo Gazette*, 1843)

ROBT. WATSON: Red River packet in 1869; John Smoker, master. (K)

ROCKAWAY No. 2: Built in 1850 at Elizabeth, Pa.; SW; 325 tons; Alexandria-New Orleans packet; burned, April 29, 1854, while enroute Alexandria to New Orleans with 400 bales cotton in cargo. (FLW; W)

RODOLPH: Built in 1836 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 150 tons; arrived New Orleans, Nov. 28, 1838, from Louisville; reports 7 feet on Falls of Ohio when she left Louisville; in 1844, Alexandria-New Orleans packet; S. W. Vandegrift, master. (FLW; W; S; *Southern Transcript*, 1844)

RODOLPH: Built in 1855 at Madison, Ind.; SW; 274 tons; hull 175'x33'x6'; 4 boilers; cyl. 20"/6½'; Red River, 1855-57; sunk on Mississippi River just below Cairo, Oct. 17, 1858. (FLW; W; EFAS)

ROSA: Built in 1851 at Louisville; SW; 265 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1850s; remains of her wreck removed in July, 1857, by the snagboat *Algerine*. (FLW; W; MHO)

ROSA BLAND: Built in 1889 at Helena, Ark.; STW; 214 tons; hull 113'x22½'x4½'; sunk March 15, 1898, at Douglas Landing on Red River near wreck of *Friendly*, 22 miles above Shreveport; cargo valued at \$750; boat at \$5,000. (FLW; WJ)

ROSA FRANKS: Built in 1866; hull 110'x27'x5½'; arrived Shreveport, Dec. 4, 1867, from upper river. (WJ, March 13, 1937; MHO)

ROVER: Built in 1830; Natchitoches-Alexandria packet; Walls, master. (FLW)

ROVER: Built in 1835 at Pittsburgh; SW; 155 tons; Shreveport-Jefferson packet; Ben V. Crooks, master; (FLW; W; S)

ROWENA: Built in 1840 at Cincinnati; SW; 375 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans packet, 1840-43; Joseph Clayborn, master; arrived Mobile, Dec. 25, 1843, for Alabama River trade; Moore, master; burned at Mobile, March 20, 1844. (FLW; W; S; *Caddo Gazette*, 1843)

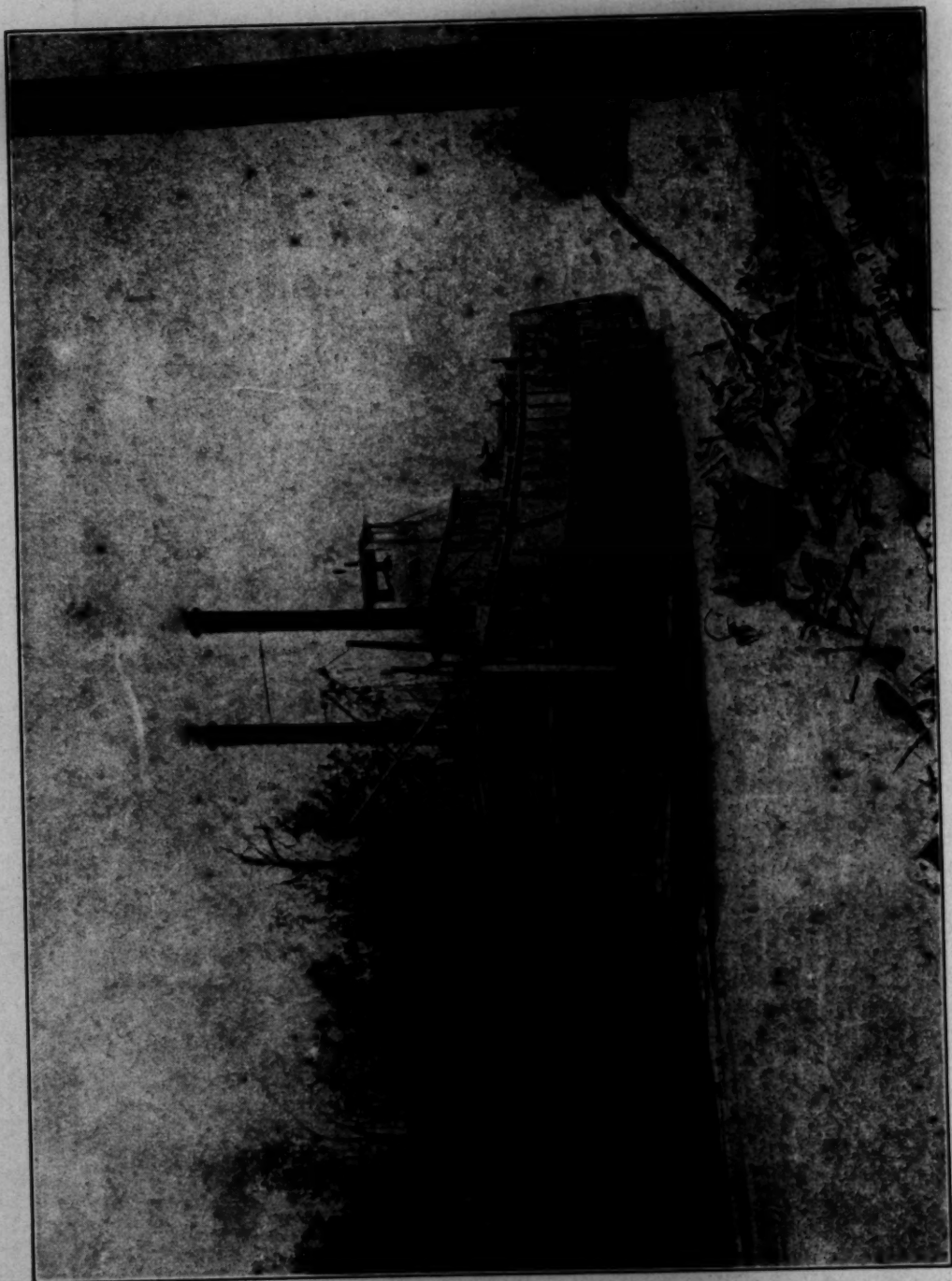
ROYAL GEORGE: Built about 1873; exploded on Red River. Dec. 7, 1873, above Shreveport. (FLW; W)

R. R. SKILLINGER: Built in 1875 at Cincinnati; cost \$15,000; destroyed by fire. (FLW; W)

R. T. BRYARLY: Built in 1872 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 331 tons; hull 150'x33'x3½'; 3 boilers, 38"/22'; cyl. 13"/4'; arrived Alexandria from New Orleans on her 13th trip, Sept. 20, 1873; sunk, Sept. 19, 1876, at Pecan Point on Red River when hit obstruction; boat capsized and broke in two. (FLW; W; J)

RUBY: Built in 1851 at West Elizabeth, Pa.; 105 tons; on Red River in 1852; last record, arrived Mobile, Jan. 7, 1855. (FLW; S; MHO)

RUBY: Built in 1871 at New Albany, Ind.; STW; 117 tons; sunk near Shreveport on Red River, August 28, 1873. (FLW; W)



STEAMER R. T. BRYARLY

RUBY: Hull 118'x22'x21½'; engines 9"/28"; Shreveport-Garland, Ark., trade; 44th trip, June 30, 1891. (FLW; WJ)

RUNAWAY: Built in 1853 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; 115 tons; home port, Louisville; on Red River, 1853-55). (W; S; FLW)

RUTH: Built in 1870 at Freedom, Pa.; STW; 181 tons; hull 140'x35'x5'; 3 boilers; cyl. 15"/5'; Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1870s; arrived Mobile from New Orleans, Jan. 27, 1879; F. Johnson, master; rebuilt at Mobile in 1883; burned at Mobile, Jan. 17, 1890, in the great cotton shed fire, with two other boats. (FLW; W)

R. W. ADAMS: Built in 1857 at Madison, Ind.; SW; 399 tons; hull 260'x36'x5½'; 5 boilers, 38"/28'; cyl. 25"/7'; C. E. Marshall, master; Red River trade in 1857; arrived Shreveport, March 11, 1857. (FLW; W; *South-Western*)

R. W. McREA: Built in 1853 at Louisville; SW; 323 tons; Samuel Applegate, owner and master; beat the record of Captain Applegate's 1851 *St. Charles* from Shreveport to New Orleans (2 days and 16 hours) by 4 hours. (*St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, Aug. 22, 1885; FLW)

R. W. POWELL: Built in 1855 at New Albany, Ind.; 349 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans packet; inspected at New Orleans in 1856. (FLW; W)

SALADO: Built in 1868 at Wheeling, W. Va.; STW; 110 tons; hull 130'x36'x4'; one boiler, 40"/20'; half-length cabin; 12 staterooms; towboat; burned, Jan. 6, 1876, on the upper Red River; valued at \$5,000, cargo at \$24,000. (FLW; W; S)

SALINES: See str. *Texas* of 1837: New Orleans-Alexandria packet, 1838-41. (FLW; W; *Red River Whig*, Sept. 4, 1841)

SALLIE ROBINSON: Built in 1856 at Cincinnati; SW; 267 tons; New Orleans-Alexandria packet, 1856-63; Charles F. Reynolds, master; dismantled and engines placed on the *Sallie Robinson*, built in 1876. (FLW; W; *Picayune*, April 11, 1861)

SALLIE ROBINSON: Built in 1876 at Cincinnati; STW; hull 165'x35'x6'; 3 boilers; cyl. 16"/6'; 2,000 bales capacity; Charles F. Reynolds, master. (FLW; W)

SAM HOWELL: On Jan. 20, 1860, while enroute to New Orleans from upper Red River with 700 bales of cotton and 30,000 hides, caught fire and destroyed at Blanton's wood-yard; Frank, master. (FLW)

SAM MILLER: Built in 1872 at Pittsburgh; STW; 242 tons; hull 148'x26'x5'; on Dec. 2, 1893, enroute from Red River to Cincinnati; burned (location not stated in U. S. Reports), Aug. 30, 1894. (FLW; W; WJ, Dec. 2, 1933)

SARAH GORDON: Built in 1850 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 150 tons; Alexandria-New Orleans trade, 1850-58; Archer, master; owned by Capt. M. N. Wood. (FLW; W; EFAS)

SARATOGA: Built in 1829 at Cincinnati; 105 tons; Alexandria-New Orleans packet; Hatch, master. (FLW)

SARATOGA: Built in 1864 at Louisville; SW; hull 183'x36½'x7'; New Orleans-Shreveport packet; Ayles, master; burned, Aug. 10, 1866, at New Orleans. (FLW; W; *N. O. Bee*, July 1, 1865)

SCIENCE: Built in 1834 at Frederickstown, Pa.; 52 tons; Red River, 1834-36; in 1837, made 3 trips from St. Louis to Fort Winnebago, Portage, Wisconsin, on the Wisconsin River. (FLW; W)

SELMA: Built in 1867 at Pittsburgh; SW; 438 tons; hull 179'x37'x7'; 3 boilers, 48"/26'; cyl. 20"/7'; cost \$50,000; carried 700 tons; arrived at Mobile, Jan. 22, 1868, for the "Thru-Line" New Orleans-Montgomery, Ala., trade; 1869-75, New Orleans-Shreveport packet; John H. Kouns, master. (FLW; W; J; MHO; *Louisiana Democrat*, Feb. 24, 1869)

SEMINOLE: Built in 1869 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 400 tons; hull 180'x38'x5½'; 3 boilers; cyl. 22"/7'; Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1874-75; dismantled in 1875; machinery into the *Laura Lee* of 1875. (FLW; W; *Picayune*, June 28, 1874)

SEVEN UP: No record except sank in Twelve Mile Bayou near Shreveport. (MHO)

S. F. J. TRUBE: Built in 1854 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 577 tons; hull 280'x34'x7½'; 5 boilers; cyl. 24"/7½'; on April 28, 1854, collided with str. *James McFadden* on Ohio River; *McFadden* sunk; Sept. 10, 1854, in St. Louis-New Orleans trade; Tucker, master; Red River in 1856; remains of her wreck removed by snagboat *Algerine* in July, 1857. (FLW; W; MHO)

SHAMROCK: Port Caddo-New Orleans packet; Hare, master. (*Crescent*, Jan. 21, 1850)

SHEPARDESS: Built in 1827 at Phillipsburg, Pa.; 126 tons; Alexandria-New Orleans packet, 1827-30; Bland, master. (FLW; S)

SHIELDS: Built in 1878 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; towboat; 116 tons; hull 130'x29'x5'; Feb. 5, 1878, Memphis-New Madrid, Mo., trade, towing barge; J. S. Rielly, master; burned at Shreveport, August 25, 1884. (FLW; W)

SHREVEPORT: Built in 1852 at Louisville; SW; 159 tons; sunk, April 18, 1856, on Red River; 800 bales of cotton recovered; boat a total loss; A. C. Cummings, master. (FLW; W; EFAS)

SHREVEPORT: Built in 1860 at Louisville; SW; 145 tons; hull 145'x27½'x4'; 2 boilers, 40"/18'; cyl. 12"/4'; Shreveport-New Orleans trade, 1860-63; A. C. Cummings, master; with Porter in 1864; arrived at Mobile, Aug. 7, 1865, while in U. S. transport service to load C. S. A. confiscated cotton; W. T. Hayner, master. (FLW; W; *Off. Records*)

S. H. TUCKER: Built in 1856 at Cincinnati; STW; 128 tons; hull 137'x25'x4½'; 2 boilers; Rees Pritchard & Company, Memphis, owners; in Red River trade in 1860; captured by U. S. fleet at Columbus, Ky.; taken to Cairo, Ill. (FLW; W; *Off. Records*)

SIGNAL: U. S. tinclad gunboat in U. S. service in 1863-64; with Porter in 1864. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

SILVER BOW: Built in 1860; arrived Shreveport in Dec., 1860; hull 220' long and 3' hold; drew 10" water when light. (MHO)

SILVER BOW: Built in 1869 at Pittsburgh; SW; 335 tons; hull 212'x32'x5½'; 3 boilers, 40"/26'; cyl. 18"/5'; carried 600 tons; Carter Line packet in St. Louis-Shreveport trade; Thomas W. Rea, master; also Missouri River trade; sunk by ice at St. Louis, Feb. 26, 1872; valued at \$30,000. (FLW; W; R; WJ, Oct. 12, 1940)

SILVER CITY: Built in 1877 at St. Louis, as str. *Tyrone*; STW; 138 tons; hull 190'x32'x5'; 2 boilers, 42"/42'; cyl. 15"/5'; Jas. Massie, master; Mo. River packet until 1878; New Orleans-Shreveport packet, 1878-84; M. N. Wood, master; New Orleans and Red River Transportation Co., owners; in 1883, on trip to Shreveport dropped her wheel overboard near Coushatta; *John D. Scully* was on way down, put her freight on the *Laura Lee* and took the *Silver City* in tow for New Orleans. (FLW; W; N. O. Democrat, May 28, 1878; *Town Talk*, March 17, 1933)

SILVER LAKE No. 4: Built in 1866 at Pittsburgh; 466 tons; hull 155'x33'x5½'; 3 boilers, 38"/22'; cyl. 15"/5'; machinery from *Silver Lake* of 1863; John Dodd, master. (FLW; W; MHO)

SILVER SPRAY: Built in 1864 at Pittsburgh; STW; 406 tons; Red River in 1868; while enroute New Orleans to Cincinnati with barge in tow exploded boilers, Aug. 1, 1870, 30 miles above Memphis; 21 lives lost. (FLW; W)

SILVER WAVE: Built in 1855 at Pittsburgh; STW; 255 tons; hull 159'x35'x5'; in 1856 in upper Mississippi River trade out of St. Louis; sunk at Columbus, Ky., Nov., 1863; raised; with Porter in 1864; last record, May, 1865, U. S. service. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

SIOUX CITY: Built in 1857 at Cincinnati; SW; 379 tons; hull 218'x33'x5¾'; 3 boilers, 44"/24'; cyl. 22"/7'; carried 600 tons; Wm. Banker, master; damaged in ice at St. Louis in the winter of 1858-59; Red River trade in 1860; listed in U. S. transport service in 1863-64; with Porter in 1864; sunk by ice at St. Louis, Dec. 6, 1865. (FLW; EFAS; W; *Off. Records*)

S. L. ELAM: Built in 1913 by the Canulettes at Slidell, La.; STW; hull 185'x30½'x5'; Carter Packet Company, owners; attempted to revive Red River trade in 1914 assisted by

the *Omaha*; H. M. Carter, master; Ouachita River trade until 1918; sold to Liberty Transit Company in 1918; cabin rebuilt and renamed *General Wood*; in her last days owned and operated by Captains Frederick Way, Jr., and William H. Pollock in the Pittsburgh-Cincinnati trade; dismantled in 1938. (FLW; W; N; R; WJ; Way)

SODO: Built about 1854; STW; hull 108'x20'x3½'; single boiler 40"/20'; single engine; upper Red River packet. (MHO; W)

SONORA: Built in 1851 at St. Louis; SW; 363 tons; hull 220'x32'x5½'; 3 boilers; cyl. 22"/7'; Wm. Terrell, master; Red River in 1853; sunk by running ice at Portland, Mo., Feb. 26, 1856, on Mo. River; boat valued at \$10,000, cargo at \$30,000. (FLW; W; EFAS)

SOUTHWESTER: Built in 1857 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 418 tons; hull 217'x36'x6½'; 3 boilers, 44"/26'; cyl. 24½"/7'; cost \$40,000; carried 900 tons; John Porter, master; with Porter in 1864; dismantled; machinery into *Belle of Alton* of 1868. (FLW; Off. Records)

SOUTH WESTERN: Built in 1839 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 202 tons; 1839-43, Shreveport-New Orleans packet; G. H. Cheatham, master. (FLW; W; S; *Caddo Gazette*, 1843)

SOUTH WESTERN: Built in 1870 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 411 tons; hull 180'x42'x6'; 4 boilers, 33"/22'; cyl. 18"/5½'; cost \$40,000; carried 900 tons; burned at Colfax, La., March 14, 1874, while in Shreveport-New Orleans trade; T. E. Jacobs, master. (FLW; W; MHO)

STAR: Built in 1840 at New Albany, Ind.; towboat; 420 tons; Feb. 20, 1842, arrived New Orleans from the Forts having salvaged machinery, etc., from the towboat *Mohican* which exploded below New Orleans; Alexandria-New Orleans packet in 1844; M. Welch, master. (FLW; W; *Southern Transcript*, May 29, 1844)

STARLIGHT: Built in 1858 at Louisville; SW; 447 tons; New Orleans-Shreveport packet, 1858-61; Charles F. Hayes, master. (FLW; S; *Picayune*, April 11, 1861)

STARLIGHT: Built in 1862 at Pittsburgh; SW; 386 tons; New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1862-63; Charles F. Hayes, master; with Porter in 1864; burned at New Orleans, April 28, 1868, while in New Orleans-Red River trade. (FLW; EFAS; W)

STARLIGHT: Built in 1870 at Louisville; STW; Shreveport-New Orleans trade; arrived at Shreveport on maiden trip in April, 1870; Charles F. Hayes, master; the officers were formerly on the *Swan*, which ran for many years in Shreveport-New Orleans trade. (MHO; W; EFAS; *Southwestern*, April 12, 1870)

ST. CHARLES: Built in 1850 at Cincinnati; 311 tons; raced the *B. F. Kimball* on Red River in 1853 and lost race; was in New Orleans-Shreveport trade at the time; sank at Devil's Elbow near Shreveport with full cargo of supplies for T. & P. Railroad; total loss; passengers removed by strs. *Planter* and *Duke*, June 5, 1857. (FLW; S; EFAS; W; Olmsted)

ST. CHARLES: Built in 1864 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 764 tons; hull 285'x40'x6½'; 7 boilers; duplicate of the *St. Nicholas* of 1864; Cincinnati-New Orleans Packet Company, owners; Red River for a few seasons; burned at Cincinnati, March 7, 1872, along with str. *Major Anderson* and others. (FLW; W; S)

ST. CLAIR: Built in 1862 at Pittsburgh; 219 tons; arrived Evansville, Ind., Oct. 25, 1863, for U. S. gunboat patrol duty; with Porter in 1864. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

STELLA: No record except sank on Red River near Shreveport. (MHO)

STERLING WHITE: Built in 1878 at New Albany, Ind.; 117 tons; hull 120'x30'x4½'; ferry boat on Red River; also short packet trips. (FLW; W)

ST. JOHNS: Built in 1828 at Cincinnati; 85 tons; Alexandria-Attakapas packet; DeMeranville, master. (FLW)

ST. MARY: New Orleans-Alexandria packet in 1846; D. Muggah, master. (*Transcript & Whig*, Nov. 1846)

ST. MARY: Built in 1871 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; 305.19 tons; arrived Alexandria from New Orleans on her 28th trip, June 18, 1871. (J)

ST. NICHOLAS: Built in 1864 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 764 tons; hull 285'x40'x6½'; 7 boilers; Cincinnati-New Orleans Packet Co., owners; Red River trade, 1867-68; J. C. Dowty, master; sank on lower falls on Red River at Alexandria, Dec. 3, 1868; duplicate of str. *St. Charles* of 1864. (FLW; W; S; *Louisiana Democrat*, July 1, 1868)

STONEWALL: Built in 1866 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 566 tons; hull 230'x42½'x6½'; St. Louis-Shreveport trade; burned at Tea Table Rock below St. Louis, Oct. 27, 1869. (FLW; K)

STORM: Built in 1835; Red River packet; burned near New Orleans, July 2, 1836. (FLW; W; S)

STORM: Built in 1848 at Cincinnati; 247 tons; arrived Shreveport from New Orleans on July 25, 1855; S. W. Downs, master; remains of wreck on Red River removed by snagboat *Algerine* in July, 1857. (W; MHO; FLW)

SUN: Burned on Red River in Feb., 1853, with str. *Echo*. (FLW; W)

SUNBEAM: Left New Orleans, Aug. 21, 1857, with freight for Deloach Landing; Shreveport-New Orleans packet in 1859. (EFAS; MHO)

SUNFLOWER: New Orleans-Alexandria packet; William C. Harrison, master. (*Red River American*, Nov. 13, 1858)

SUNRISE: Built in 1897 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; hull 180'x36'x5'; 2 boilers, 44"/28'; cyl. 15"/5½'; cost \$40,000; Red River Line; New Orleans-Shreveport packet; H. J. Brinker, Sr., master; had electrical device on her "star" between chimneys which, at night, was operated to simulate a rising sun; sunk, Jan. 8, 1901, on Red River; raised; burned, May 1, 1902. (FLW; W; N; R; WJ)

SUPERIOR: Built in 1823 at Pittsburgh; SW; 74 tons; Natchitoches-New Orleans packet in 1820s; Lecardo, master. (*Courier*, May 2, 1825; FLW)

SUSIE SILVER: Built in 1870 at St. Louis; SW; 926 tons; hull 260'x39'x61½'; 4 boilers, 40"/26'; cyl. 22"/8'; David Silver, master and owner; Shreveport, New Orleans & St. Louis packet, 1872-73; dismantled in 1878; machinery and cabin on new hull in 1878; renamed *Annie P. Silver*. (FLW; W; R)

SUSIE W.: Built in 1900 at Shreveport; had Schoellhorn-Albrecht machinery; upper Red River packet. (WJ)

SWAMP FOX: Shreveport-New Orleans packet, 1853-54; Rhoades, master. (Olmsted, II, 254-94)

SWAMP FOX: Built in 1856 at Shousetown, Pa.; 280 tons; 1856-57, Shreveport-New Orleans packet; Rhoades, master; sank in 1857 on Red River and remains of wreck removed by snagboat *Algerine* in July, 1857. (FLW; W; S; MHO)

SWAMP FOX: Built about 1858; perhaps out of *Swamp Fox* of 1856; last record, arrived at Cotile Landing from New Orleans with freight for Shackelford in Nov., 1860; Rhoades, master. (EFAS)

SWAMP RANGER: 1856-58, Shreveport-New Orleans trade; William Main, master. (W; EFAS)

SWAN: Built in 1840 at Cincinnati; 93 tons; Rhoades, master; Alexandria to mouth of Red River, connecting with and transferring freight and passengers to the str. *Bogue Houma*, Peter Delmau, master, for New Orleans. (FLW; W; *Red River Whig*, Sept. 4, 1841)

SWAN: Built in 1855 at Louisville; SW; 184 tons; Red River packet, 1855-58; Charles F. Hayes, master; sold to Ouachita River parties in 1858. (FLW; W; EFAS; MHO)

SWAZIE: Took largest load of cotton out of Bayou Choctaw, La., (500 bales), arriving at New Orleans, Feb. 11, 1899. (WJ, Feb. 11, 1939; W)

SYDONIA: Built in 1851 at Cincinnati; SW; 235 tons; advertised as upper Red River packet in Shreveport *South-Western* in 1854; William Kay, master. (MHO; FLW; K)

T. D. HINE: Built in 1858 at New Albany, Ind.; 131 tons; July 1, 1865, listed in *N. O. Bee* as leaving for Shreveport; Wm. H. Oldham, master; arrived at Shreveport from New Orleans, Sept. 12, 1866. (MHO; FLW)

TECHE: Built in 1820 at New Orleans; SW; 295 tons; single engine; Campbell, master; Red River trade, 1820-24; burned at Natchez, May 5, 1825, while enroute New Orleans to Louisville. (FLW; W; S; LL, p. 63)

TECHE: Built in 1835 at Cincinnati; SW; 142 tons; passed Memphis southbound, Nov. 8, 1835, for New Orleans; Alexandria-New Orleans packet in 1836. (FLW; W; S; *Planters' Intelligencer*, 1836)

TECHE: Built in 1886 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 488 tons; hull 190'x38'x5½'; burned. (FLW; W; N)

TELEGRAM: Built in 1858 at Louisville; 205 tons; Red River packet, 1857-58; sank on Red River in 1858. (MHO; FLW)

TELEGRAPH: Built in 1819 at Pittsburgh; SW; 108 tons; arrived New Orleans, May 16, 1819; J. Armitage, master; early Red River packet in Alexandria-New Orleans trade. (FLW; W; S)

TEXANA: See *Franklin Pierce*.

TEXARKANA: Built in 1869 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 343 tons; Red River packet; sank, Aug. 31, 1870; rebuilt; New Orleans-Shreveport packet until 1872; Noah Scovell, master. (FLW; R; W; MHO; *Star*, June 26, 1936)

TEXAS: Built in 1837 at Kanawha, Va.; 75 tons; New Orleans-Alexandria packet in 1837-38; renamed *Salines* in 1838; New Orleans-Alexandria packet, 1838-41. (FLW; W; *Red River Whig*, Sept. 4, 1841)

TEXAS: Built about 1850; New Orleans-Shreveport trade; burned at New Orleans, Feb. 15, 1853, with strs. *John Swazey* and *Post Boy*. (FLW; W; EFAS)

TEXAS: Built about 1857; New Orleans-Shreveport packet, 1858-60; sunk, Jan. 24, 1860, above Alexandria, La.; evidently raised; arrived at Shreveport from New Orleans,

Aug. 8, 1866; perhaps dismantled and rebuilt in the *Texas* of 1867. (FLW; W; *South-Western*, Nov. 1858, Aug. 8, 1866)

TEXAS: Built in 1866-67; sunk, March 1, 1867, 5 miles below Barbin's Landing on Red River, on her first trip; G. W. Rea, master. (FLW; R; W)

TEXAS: Built in 1869 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 373 tons; New Orleans-Shreveport packet (Kouns Line), 1870-75; collided with the *Era No. 9* and sank on Red River, September 1, 1870; raised; arrived Alexandria from New Orleans on her 4th trip, Jan. 25, 1874; G. W. Rea, master. (FLW; W; R; J)

TEXAS RANGER: Built in 1851 at New Albany, Ind.; 159 tons; on Red River in 1852. (FLW; W; S; MHO)

THOMAS E. TUTT: Built in 1855 at Cincinnati; SW; 351 tons; hull 200'x35'x5½'; 4 boilers; cyl. 22"/7'; captured and burned by Confederates on Cumberland-River, Tenn.; raised and then in U. S. transport service; with Porter in 1864. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

T. F. ECKERT: Only record found in the "river news" column of the New Orleans *Democrat*, April 17, 1878, stating that this boat had arrived from Red River with the engines, boilers, "doctor", etc., of the wrecked str. *Dawn*.

TIDAL WAVE: Built in 1870 for Kouns Line; Shreveport-New Orleans packet, 1870-72; Wm. Tiley Scovell, master; upper Mississippi River packet until 1878; when rebuilt and renamed *Grand Pacific*. (FLW; R; W; S; MHO)

TIGER: Built in 1857 at Cincinnati; SW; arrived at Mobile, Dec. 7, 1858; M. Cook, master; sank, Red River while in Shreveport-New Orleans trade, April 8, 1860. (FLW)

T. L. CONLEY: Built in 1859 at Pittsburgh; 211 tons; Red River, 1860. (FLW; W)

TRADE PALACE: Built in 1866 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; in 1867, in Red River trade. (FLW; W)

TRADER: Built in 1831 at Cincinnati; 76 tons. (FLW; W; S)

TRADER: On Red River in 1855; said to be able to carry more freight on less water than any other boat of her day. (MHO; W)

TRAVIS WRIGHT: Built in 1869 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 202 tons; hull 130' long; 13" draft when light; sank on Red River below Coushatta, La., about 1872; T. J. Reeder, master. (FLW; W; MHO)

TRENT: Shreveport-New Orleans trade in 1855; M. N. Wood, master and owner; used by Confederates as a transport on Red River during the Civil War; listed as New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1865; M. N. Wood, master. (W; MHO; *N. O. Bee*, July 1, 1865)

TRENTON: Built in 1851 at Monongahela, Pa.; SW; 144 tons; on Red River in 1852. (FLW; S; W; MHO)

TRIO: Built in 1859 at Louisville; 150 tons; upper Red River packet. (FLW; W; S)

TROUT: Upper Red River packet in the 1890s; George L. White, master. (W; R)

T. W. ROBERTS: Built in 1860 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; 284 tons; in 1861, advertised for Shreveport in place of the *Grand Era*; Ben B. Kouns, master; sunk at Shreveport in 1863 to prevent capture by U. S. forces. (FLW; W; *Off. Records; Picayune*, April 11, 1861)

U & I: Built in 1898 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; hull 132'x22'x3'; left Louisville with full cargo for Shreveport on Sept. 3, 1898; H. M. Carter, master; had machinery from *Bessie Siler* which sank on Bayou Teche, June 9, 1894; burned, Feb. 23, 1899, at Coushatta Chute, La. (WJ, March 4, 1939; N; R; J; FLW)

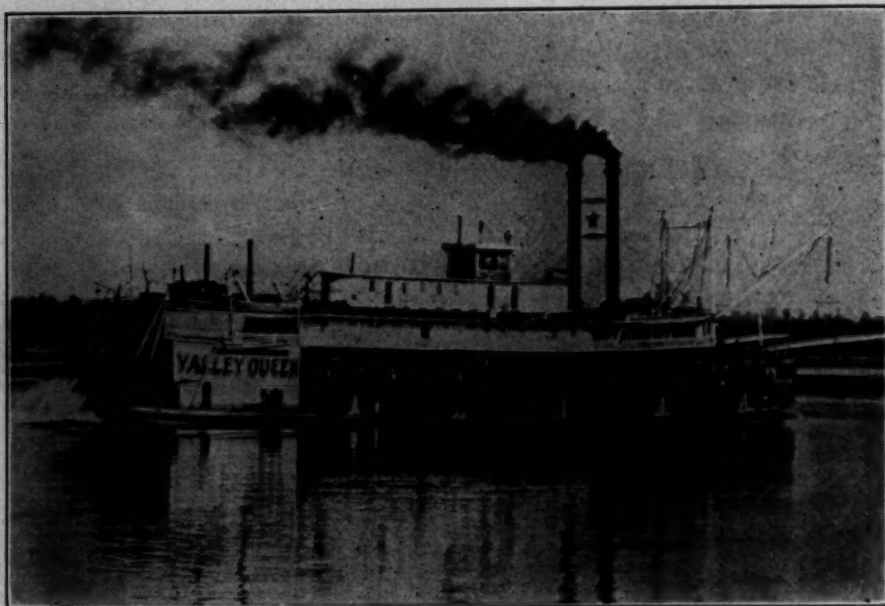
UNA: Red River packet in 1866. (MHO)

UNCLE OLIVER: See str. *Concordia*; occasional trip on Red River. (FLW; N; R)

UNION: Alexandria-Jefferson packet; Ruth Edwards, master. (*Louisiana Democrat*, 1852)

UNION: Built in 1855 at Shreveport; STW; 2 boilers; low-water packet; 1200 bale capacity; C. A. Crooks, master; arrived at Shreveport from Carolina Bluffs, July 25, 1855. (MHO; *South-Western*)

UNIVERSE: Built in 1857; SW; hull 180'x35'x7'; 3 boilers; cyl. 22"/7'; Ohio River packet; with Porter in 1864. (FLW; *Off. Records*)



STEAMER VALLEY QUEEN

VALLEY QUEEN: Built in 1899 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 373 tons; machinery from the *La Belle*; hull 196½'x36'x5½'; 2 boilers, 46"/28'; cyl. 20½"/6½'; cotton guards; carried 900 tons; Red River Line; New Orleans-Shreveport packet, 1889-94; Geo. W. Rea, master; chartered by Anchor Line in 1894 for New Orleans-St. Louis trade; resumed Red River trade in 1895; Ben C. Rea, master; Jesse K. Bell Rea, pilot; ended her days in New Orleans-Vicksburg trade. (W; N; R; WJ, Jan. 18, 1896, Nov. 17, 1894, July 6, 1895, Oct. 6, 1900)

VELOCIPEDE: Built in 1835 at Cincinnati; SW; 123 tons; in 1836-37, New Orleans-Natchitoches trade. (FLW; W; S)

VENTURE: Built in 1851 at Franklin, La.; 61 tons; on Red River in 1852. (FLW; S)

VERMILLION: Built in 1830 at Cincinnati; SW; 117 tons; early Red River packet in Alexandria-New Orleans trade, 1830-35. (FLW; W; *Planters' Intelligencer*, Sept. 24, 1934)

VESTA: Built in 1840 at Cincinnati; 45 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans trade in 1840s; Scott, master. (FLW; W; S)

VICTORIA: Built in 1855 at Louisville; STW; 161 tons; hull 135'x30'x4'; offered for sale at New Orleans, Jan. 27, 1856, by McDowell & Company; Red River in 1857-58. (FLW; W)

VICTORY: Built in 1864 at St. Louis; 387 tons; hull 172'x34'x5'; Shreveport-New Orleans trade in 1866. (FLW; W)

VIGO: Built in 1859 at Brownsville, Pa.; SW; 244 tons; hull 181'x33'x6'; 3 boilers; cyl. 18"/5½'; arrived Mobile, 1860, for Mobile and Montgomery Railroad transfer connection; on Red River in 1867; dismantled at Louisville in 1868; engines into *Lee* of 1868. (FLW; W)

VIOLA BELLE: Built in 1865 at Pearl Landing, Ill.; SW; 450 tons; hull 200'x30'x5'; 3 boilers; cyl. 17"/6'; Red River trade in 1868; sunk by snag at Smith Bar near Donovan, Mo., on Mo. River, Aug. 21, 1871; boat broke in two; total loss \$15,000. (FLW; W)

W. A. ANDREW: New Orleans-Shreveport packet in 1857-58; J. C. Dowty, master. (W; EFAS; *Red River American*, Nov. 13, 1858)

WABASH VALLEY: Built in 1844 at Pittsburgh; SW; 99 tons; 1844-45, Red River packet; sunk, March 23, 1846, by collision with str. *Yorktown* at Jefferson College, La., while enroute out of White River to New Orleans with a cargo of 160 bales of cotton. (FLW; W; MHO)

WABASH VALLEY: Built in 1853 at Louisville; 136 tons; Shreveport-New Orleans packet, 1855-58; M. N. Wood, master and owner. (MHO; FLW; W)

WALTER B. DANCE: Built in 1866 at St. Louis; SW; 571 tons; hull 230'x37'x6½'; 4 boilers; 1866-67, on Missouri River; arrived at Shreveport from St. Louis, June 17, 1867, and from that time on operated on the Red and lower rivers; dismantled in 1871 at St. Louis. (FLW; W; R; WJ)

WARREN BELLE: Built in 1865 at Louisville; Feb. 5, 1870, sunk on Bayou Teche, La.; raised and dismantled at Louisville, in 1871. (FLW; W)

WASHINGTON: Shreveport-New Orleans packet, 1840-41; Ruth Edwards, master. (*Constitutional Advocate*, Dec. 16, 1840; *Reporter*, Jan. 27, 1841)

WATER WITCH: In 1840-41, Natchitoches-New Orleans packet; Isaac Wright, master. (*Constitutional Advocate*, Dec. 16, 1840; *Herald*, April 10, 1841)

WAUKESHA: Built about 1890; Shreveport-Fulton, Ark., packet, 1890-95; W. H. McWhorter, master and owner. (*Star*, June 26, 1936)

W. BURTON: New Orleans-Shreveport packet; F. A. Boissat, master. (*Picayune*, April 10, 1861; S; W)

WELCOME: Built in 1879 at Wheeling, W. Va.; STW; 188 tons; sank, Red River above Shreveport; raised, March 6, 1883, and repaired. (FLW; *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, March 9, 1883)

W. F. CURTIS: Built in 1867 at Marietta, Ohio; SW; 397 tons; Cincinnati-Shreveport packet in 1868; burned at Marietta, Ohio, June 28, 1868. (FLW; MHO)

WHISPER: Built in 1847 at Elizabeth, Pa.; SW; home port, New Orleans. (FLW; W)

WHISPER: Built in 1878; hull 180'x35½'x6'; 3 boilers; cyl. 20"/61½'; Capt. M. N. Wood, owner; on Red River in the late 1870s and early 1880s. (J; MHO; W; FLW)

WHITE CLIFFS: Built in 1854 at Little Rock, Ark.; 142 tons; hull 137'x27'x41½'; arrived at Shreveport to engage in Red River trade, March 4, 1855; Graham, master. (FLW; W; MHO)

WHITE CLOUD: Built in 1857; hull 200'x35'x51½'; 4 boilers; sunk at St. Louis, Feb. 12, 1867, a/c ice shoved her on top of wreck of *Belle Memphis*; with Porter in 1864. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

WHITE ROSE: Built in 1847 at Cincinnati; SW; 194 tons; Nashville-New Orleans trade in 1847-48; Aug. 4, 1848, broke mooring lines, wind threw her against several boats causing her to sink, had no steam up a/c washing boilers at time; evidently raised, as on Red River in early 1850s. (FLW; W)

WILLIAM H. BROWN: Towboat; with Porter in 1864.
(Off. Records)

WILLIAM H. WEBB: Built about 1858; towboat and ice-breaker in New York harbor; SW; low-pressure walking beam engine; 656 tons; hull 200' long; sold to New Orleans merchants in 1861; arrived New Orleans from Havana, May 15, 1861; May 17, 1861, commissioned as a Confederate privateer and seized three vessels laden with oil; thereafter in transportation service until Jan. 15, 1862, when impressed into service by Major Gen. Mansfield Lovell, C. S. A.; sent to Shreveport when New Orleans capitulated; accompanied by the ram *Queen of the West* and cotton-clad steamers *Grand Duke*, *Grand Era* and *Dr. Batey*, captured the U. S. ironclad *Indianola*, Feb. 24, 1863; participated in the battle on Grand Lake where the *Queen of the West* was destroyed by Federals; retired to Shreveport and remained there until April, 1865, when Lieut.-Commander Chas. W. Read made his mad dash down Red River, past Union forts and fleet, passing New Orleans at noon April 24, 1865; at 4:00 P. M. met the U. S. S. *Richmond* which forced Commander Read to beach and fire her. (Scharf, 362-67; FLW; Robinson, 243-45; Off. Records)

WILLIAM PARIS: Built in 1839 on Ohio River; 172 tons; sunk by collision with the str. *Meteor* on Aug. 28, 1848, four miles below Shreveport. (FLW; W)

W. J. BEHAN: Built in 1873 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 288 tons; hull 165'x35'x4'; 2 boilers; cyl. 15"/5½'; miniature bale of cotton between chimneys; 1873-76, Shreveport-New Orleans packet; sold to Fort Benton Trans. Co. in 1876 for Missouri River trade; sunk, March 28, 1884, at Bismarck, N. Dak., by ice. (FLW; W; J)

W. J. LEWIS: Built in 1866 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; hull 235'x38'x6½'; 3 boilers, 42"/30'; cyl. 22"/6½'; Missouri River trade; sunk, April 3, 1873, near Liberty, Mo.; machinery on new hull in 1873 at Jeffersonville; 587 tons; hull 237'x38'x6½'; carried 1000 tons; J. Cartwright, master; Alexandria-New Orleans packet in 1874; burned at Chester, Ill., March 14, 1875, while enroute from St. Louis to New Orleans; valued at \$60,000, cargo at \$100,000. (FLW; W; J)

- W. L. EWING:** Built in 1856 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; hull 181'x32'x5½'; 3 boilers; cyl. 21"/6½'; with Porter in 1864; sunk, Nov., 1864, 40 miles below St. Louis, on Hard-scrabble Bar; boat broke in two; machinery into str. *Des Arc*. (FLW; *Off. Records*)
- WM. GARIG:** Built in 1904 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 193 tons; hull 175'x35'x5½'; owned at one time by Carter Packet Company; ran in lower coast, Ouachita River and Red River trades; sold to Eagle Packet Company of St. Louis in 1918; rebuilt and renamed *Golden Eagle*; won a race against "time" with the *Delta King* and *Delta Queen* of Sacramento River in 1939. (R; W; WJ)
- WM. LEVY:** Built in 1860 at New Albany, Ind.; 141 tons. (FLW; W)
- WM. R. DOUGLAS:** Built in 1856 at Louisville; SW; 167 tons; sank on Red River in Sept., 1858. (FLW; W; MHO)
- W. N. SHERMAN:** Built in 1855 at New Albany, Ind.; 194 tons; 1855-59, New Orleans-Shreveport packet; burned, Feb. 3, 1868, at Cincinnati. (FLW; W; EFAS)
- WOODSMAN:** New Orleans-Alexandria packet in 1848-49; John Ankrim, master. (*Commercial Bulletin*, 1849)
- W. S. PIKE:** Built in 1869 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 616 tons; hull 200'x33'x6'; 4 boilers; Cincinnati-New Orleans packet; in 1873 in Red River trade; last trade, New Orleans-Bayou Sara; burned, Dec. 17, 1875, while laid up at New Orleans; valued at \$35,000. (FLW; W)
- W. T. SCOVELL:** Built in 1895 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; hull 160'x31'x4'; maiden trip arrived New Orleans, Nov. 9, 1895; Perkins Boardman, master; Red River Line packet in New Orleans-Shreveport trade; reported, Aug. 16, 1896, that the U. S. snagboats *C. W. Howell* and *O. G. Wagner* were doing good work cleaning up Red River; also commanded by Frank E. Scovell; last record, on Red River in 1911. (FLW; W; R; N; WJ, Oct. 12, 1895, Aug. 15, 1896)
- YALLABUSHA:** Built in 1844 at Cincinnati; SW; 115 tons; Alexandria-New Orleans packet in 1844-45; S. W. Vandegrift, master; 1845-46, Cincinnati-New Orleans packet; burned, Jan. 18, 1848, opposite Donaldsonville, La., while enroute from Red River to New Orleans; 12 lives lost. (FLW; W; S; *Red River Republican*, 1845)

YAZOO: Built in 1842 at Cincinnati; SW; 304 tons; hull 151'x28'x5'; 2 boilers; drew 11" of water when not loaded; 1844-46, in Shreveport-New Orleans trade; Young, master. (FLW; W; S)

YAZOO BELLE: Built in 1856 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; SW; 138 tons; 1856-60, New Orleans-Alexandria packet; E. L. Butler, master; sunk above raft on Red River, June 24, 1860. (FLW; W; *Red River American*, Dec. 13, 1858)

YAZOO VALLEY: Built in 1876 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; 328 tons; hull 180'x36'x6½'; 2 boilers; cyl. 16"/5½'; S. H. Parisott & Company, Vicksburg, Miss.; capacity 3000 bales of cotton; sold to Capt. G. W. Rea in 1882 for Red River trade; sunk, March 4, 1883, 35 miles above New Orleans; valued at \$7,000; raised and rebuilt in 1885. (FLW; R; W; S)

YAZOO VALLEY: Built in 1884 by Capt. G. W. Rea out of the *Yazoo Valley* of 1876; STW; sank at Tessier's Landing just below Grand Ecore in 1886; pumped out by the str. *Danube*. (R)

ZEBULON M. PIKE: Built about 1816; first boat to St. Louis; then on Red River. (St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Aug. 22, 1885)

LIST OF IRONCLADS AND TINCLADS WITH PORTER ON
RED RIVER IN 1864.

U. S. S. AVENGER: See steamboat list for data.

U. S. S. BENTON: Built in 1861 as the twin-hulled snagboat *Thomas Benton*; in 1861, the space between these hulls was connected with solid planking, a model bow constructed and this formed a new hull 200'x75'x8'; recessed center wheel; 1033 tons; sides of hull sheathed with iron plating to form an "ironclad" hull; Capt. James B. Eads supervised the reconstruction of this boat. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

U. S. S. BLACK HAWK: Built in 1861 as str. *New Uncle Sam* for New Orleans-St. Louis trade; SW; hull 285'x38'x6½'; 6 boilers, 42"/26'; cyl. 28"/10'; Flagship of Admiral Por-

ter; burned at Mound City, Ill., April 22, 1865, because of carelessness in issue of oil supplies from oil locker when still in U. S. service. (FLW; W; *Off. Records*)

U. S. S. CARONDELET: Built in 1861; 512 tons; U. S. ironclad; recessed center wheel; hull 175'x50'x6'; one of seven ironclads of the same dimensions built by Capt. J. B. Eads at St. Louis. (*Off. Records*; FLW)

U. S. S. CHILLICOTHE: Built in St. Louis; SW; 203 tons; U. S. ironclad; hull 296'x35'x8½'; scow bow; battery consisted of three 9" guns; one 100-pounder, two 24-pounders, two 30-pounders. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

U. S. S. CHOCTAW: Built in 1855 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 618 tons; hull 245'x38'x7'; 4 boilers; cyl. 23"/8'; Capt. Dave Silver, owner; St. Louis-New Orleans trade; Oct., 1861, seized by U. S. Gov't. and converted into a SW gunboat; carried 8 guns. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

U. S. S. COVINGTON: Built in 1863; SW; 224 tons; 1863-64, U. S. tinclad; burned by U. S. forces on Red River, May 5, 1864, to prevent falling into the hands of C.S.A.; had been badly damaged by C.S.A. land battery. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

U. S. S. CRICKET: See steamboat list for data.

U. S. S. EASTPORT: Built in 1852 at New Albany, Ind.; SW; 800 tons; hull 280'x43'x5½'; 5 boilers, 42"/28'; cyl. 26"/9'; Florence, Ala.-New Orleans Packet Company, owners; in 1862, while being converted into C.S.A. gunboat at Eastport on the Tenn. River, was captured by U. S. forces, taken to Mound City and finished; official number, *Eastport No. 344*; crew 110 men; six 64-pound guns, three 100-pound guns; sunk on Red River while in Admiral Porter's fleet; raised, but again sunk a short distance below; stripped and blown up by U. S. fleet. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

U. S. S. ELK: Built in 1851 at Elizabeth, Pa.; STW; 162 tons; in U. S. tinclad gunboat service, 1861-64. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

U. S. S. ESSEX: Built in 1862; SW; 614 tons; a former U. S. snagboat; converted into an ironclad; 12 guns; machinery off *New Era* of 1856; adv. for sale by U. S. Gov't., Aug. 16, 1865, at Mound City, Ill. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

- U. S. S. FORT HINDMAN:** Built out of str. *James Thompson* in 1863; SW; 286 tons; off. number, 13; hull 135'x38'x41 $\frac{1}{4}$ '; 2 boilers, 38"/22'; cyl. 16"/5'; wheels 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ ' diam., with 8' buckets; Capt. James Pierce, commander; attached to Mississippi River squadron; two 100-pounds guns; six 50-pound guns; one 24-pound gun; dismantled. (FLW; *Off. Records*)
- U. S. S. GAZELLE:** Built in 1853 at Brownsville, Pa.; 165 tons; attached to Mississippi River squadron as tinclad gunboat No. 50; sold by U. S. Gov't., Aug. 17, 1865, at Mound City, Ill. (FLW; *Off. Records*)
- U. S. S. GENERAL PRICE:** With Porter in 1864; captured from Confederates. (*Off. Records*)
- U. S. S. LAFAYETTE:** Built in 1862 at St. Louis; SW; 1000 tons; rebuilt on hull of str. *Alex Scott*, No. 2; hull 296'x55'x10'; 6 boilers, 38"/28'; cyl. 22"/8'; 10 guns, ironclad to 3' below water line with 3" plates; Robert Tate, chief engineer, 1862-65; dismantled at St. Louis in 1865; iron sold for junk. (FLW; *Off. Records*)
- U. S. S. LEXINGTON:** Built in 1858 at Pittsburgh; SW; 448 tons; hull 277'x41'x6'; 4 boilers, 38"/26'; cyl. 22"/7'; Cincinnati-New Orleans packet; sold to U. S. Gov't. in 1861 along with *A. O. Tyler* and *Conestoga*; fitted as an Ellett ram; burned at Algiers, La., Feb. 3, 1869, while waiting to go on dock for repairs because of having exploded boilers in the winter of 1868; boat was to be rebuilt. (FLW; *Off. Records*)
- U. S. S. LOUISVILLE:** With Porter in 1864. (*Off. Records*)
- U. S. S. METEOR (No. 44):** See steamboat list for data.
- U. S. S. MOUND CITY:** Built in 1861 at St. Louis; 512 tons; hull 175'x50'x6'; Capt. J. B. Eads, designer; ironclad; 14 guns. (FLW; *Off. Records*)
- U. S. S. NEOSHO:** Built in 1862; 523 tons; 4 guns; designed as a monitor by Capt. James B. Eads in 1862 for U. S. Gov't. (FLW; *Off. Records*)
- U. S. S. NYMPH (No. 54):** With Porter in 1864. (*Off. Records*)

U. S. S. OUACHITA: See str. *Louisville* on steamboat list.

U. S. S. OSAGE: Built in 1862; 523 tons; 2 guns; designed as a monitor by Capt. James B. Eads for U. S. Gov't. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

U. S. S. OZARK: With Porter in 1864. (*Off. Records*)

U. S. S. PITTSBURG: Built in St. Louis in 1861 as U. S. ironclad; 512 tons; hull 175'x50'x6'; 14 guns; Capt. James B. Eads designed for U. S. Gov't. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

U. S. S. SIBYL: Built in 1865 at Pittsburgh as the str. *Hartford*; SW; 176 tons; 8 guns; 1865, a U. S. tinclad gunboat. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

U. S. S. ST. CLAIR: See steamboat list for data.

U. S. S. TALLAHATCHIE (No. 46): With Porter in 1864. (*Off. Records*)

U. S. S. WINNEBAGO: U. S. monitor built by Capt. James B. Eads for U. S. Gov't.; 970 tons; 4 guns. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

U. S. HOSPITAL TRANSPORT GROESBECK: Originally str. *Fanny*; SW; hull 263'x38'x6'; 5 boilers; cyl. 24"/8'; sold to U. S. Gov't., Dec. 3, 1863, and renamed *Groesbeck* (*Off. No. 8*); sold, Aug. 7, 1865; dismantled at Cincinnati, May, 1872. (FLW; *Off. Records*)

U. S. HOSPITAL SHIP WOODFORD: Sank on Falls at Alexandria in 1864. (*Off. Records*)

LIST OF STEAMERS (TRANSPORTS) WITH PORTER ON RED RIVER
IN 1864

Adriatic	James Battle
Alfred Robb	John Raine
Alice Vivian	John Warner
Any One	Judge Torrence
Argosy	Juliet
Arizona	
Autocrat	Kenwood
B (towboat)	La Crosse
Baltic	Laurel Hill
Belladonna	Liberty No. 2
Belle Creole	Lioness
Belvidere	
Benefit	Maria Hamilton
Black Hawk	Mars
	Mattie
	Mittie Stevens
Champion No. 3	
Champion No. 5	
Champion No. 9	New National
City Belle	
Clara Bell	Ouachita
Colonel Cowles	
Constitution	Red Chief
Countess	Red Rover
	R. E. Hill
Des Moines	R. J. Lockwood
Diadem	Rob Roy (U. S. N. H.)
Diana	Robert Emmet
Emerald	Shreveport
Emma	Signal
Empire Parish	Silver Wave
	Sioux City
Fannie Thornton	Southwester
F. H. Lacey	Starlight
Forest Rose	
Frolic	Thomas E. Tutt
General Lyon	Universe
Gillum	
Grey Eagle	White Cloud
	William H. Brown
Hastings	W. L. Ewing
Henry Choteau	
Hettie Gilmore	
Iberville	TUGBOATS
Ike Hammitt	Dahlia
	Ivy

GOVERNMENT SNAGBOATS

AID: In 1873 was used by Captain George S. Woodruff to remove the Great Raft. (FLW; *Shreveport Times*, June 28, 1935)

ALGERINE: Removed wreck of the *H. M. Wright* in July, 1857. Owned and operated by the State of Louisiana. (FLW; MHO)

ARCHIMEDES: Snagboat built by Capt. Shreve in 1837 to remove raft. (*Shreveport Times*, June 28, 1935)

COLUMBIA: (FLW)

C. W. HOWELL: Built in St. Louis in 1881; SW; hull 165'x36'x5'; 305 tons. (FLW)

ERADICATOR: First snagboat on Red River; built by Captain Shreve; used in 1837 to remove Red River Raft. (FLW; *Shreveport Times*, June 28, 1935)

FLORENCE: Gov't. snagboat in 1880s; George L. White, master. (FLW; W; R)

GOPHER: 1850s. (FLW)

HELIOPOLIS: With Shreve in 1837 to remove Red River Raft. (*Shreveport Times*, June 28, 1935)

JAVA: With Shreve in 1837. (*Shreveport Times*, June 28, 1935)

JOHN R. MEEGS: (FLW)

JOSEPH E. RANDELL: Built in 1908 at Jeffersonville, Ind.; STW; hull 155'x32'x4.9'; sold to Capt. George Prince of Vicksburg in 1936. (FLW; R; N; J; WJ, Feb. 8, 1936)

O. G. WAGNOR: (WJ)

PEARL: With Shreve in 1837 to remove raft in Red River. (*Shreveport Times*, June 28, 1935)

SOUVENIR: With Shreve in 1837. (*Shreveport Times*, June 28, 1935)

RED RIVER STEAMBOAT MASTERS

<i>Captains</i>	<i>Packets</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Trade</i>
Aiken, Joseph A.	Charles H. Durfee	1870	Lower River
Ankrim, John	Archer	1845	Lower River
	Woodsman	1848-49	" "
Applegate, Samuel	Medora	1845	Lower River
	Duck River	1847	" "
	St. Charles	1851	" "
	R. W. McRea	1853	" "
	Duke	1857	" "
	Grand Duke	1859	" "
Archer	Sarah Gordon	1850-58	Lower River
Armistead, B.	George L. Bass	1897	Upper River
Armitage, J.	Telegraph	1819-20	Lower River
Ayles	Saratoga	1864-66	Lower River
Banks, A. A.	Fleta	1870	Lower River
Barnes, J. W.	Lizzie Tate	1863-69	Lower River
Bassett, W. S.	Bradish Johnson	1869	Lower River
Bateman, William D.	Lucy Holcomb	1859	Lower River
	Caroline	1863	" "
	Caroline	1868	" "
Benoist	Nathan Hale	1844	Lower River
Bixby, Horace	Oceanus	1871	Lower River
Black, Jacob	Beaver	1820	Lower River
	Beaver	1832	" "
	Beaver	1843	" "
Blanchard	Planter	1831	Lower River
Bland	Shepardess	1827-30	Lower River
Boardman, Chas.	Alex Mitchell	1870s	Lower River
Boardman, Perkins	W. T. Scovell	1900s	Lower River
Boardman, William T.	Cuba (2nd)	1860s	Lower River
	New Era	1867	" "
	B. L. Hodge No. 1	1868	" "
	B. L. Hodge No. 2	1869	" "
	Richmond	1869	" "
	John T. Moore	1870s	" "

<i>Captains</i>	<i>Packets</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Trade</i>
Boissat, F. A.	W. Burton	1861	Lower River
	Frolic	1868	" "
Boisseau, J.	Newsboy	1858	Lower River
Bonham, Ben B.	Alpha	1883	Upper River
	Friendly	1888	" "
	New Haven	1890s (?)	" "
	Marco	1890s (?)	" "
	Rosa Bland	1898	" "
Bradish, James	Hannibal	1838-40s	Lower River
Brandenburg, S.	Hornet	1822-25	Lower River
Brinker, H. J., Jr.	Red River	1892	Lower River
	Alma	1894	" "
	Gem	1901	Upper River & L.R.
	W. T. Scovell	1911	Lower River
Brinker, H. J., Sr.	Carrie V. Kountz	1870	Lower River
	Red Cloud	1871	" "
	Maria Louise	1874-81	" "
	Laura Lee	1876-83	" "
	Garland	1888	" "
	Sunrise	1897	" "
Broadwell	Atlantic	1845	Lower River
Brodix, J.	Norma	1840-42	Lower River
Brolaski, Howard	Nick Wall	1870	Lower River
Brown	Indiana	1841	Lower River
Butler, E. L.	Yazoo Belle	1858	Lower River
Caghill, James	R. J. Lockwood	1870-72	Lower River
Campbell	Teche	1820-24	Lower River
Carlile, A.	Belle Sulphur	1851	Lower River
Carrere	Correo	1845	Lower River
Carroll, P.	Caroline	1844	Lower River
Carter, E. G.	Red River	1900	Lower River
	Columbia	1909	" "
	Omaha	1914	" "

<i>Captains</i>	<i>Packets</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Trade</i>
Carter, H. M.	U & I	1889	Lower River
	Blue Wing	1890-92	" "
	Columbia	1894-1900	" "
	Red River	1901	" "
	H. M. Carter	1902	" "
	Wm. Garig	1909	" "
	S. L. Elam	1912	" "
Carter, H. S.	Henry M. Shreve	1871	Lower River
Cellos, F. V.	Marion	1856-58	Lower River
Cheatham, G. H.	South Western	1843	Lower River
Childs, Steve	G. W. Sentell	1890-95	Lower River
Clark, Thomas	Luda	1841-55	Lower River
	Music	1856	" "
Clayborn, Joseph	Rowena	1840-43	Lower River
Cockerell, L.	Lioness	1833	Lower River
Crooks, Ben V.	Rover	1835	Upper River
	Ham Howell	1858	" "
	George	1867	" "
Crooks, C. A.	Union	1855	Upper River
Cummings, A. C.	New Brazil	1842	Lower River
	Shreveport	1852-56	" "
	Shreveport	1860-63	" "
Daniels, C. D.	Lotus No. 2	1868	Lower River
	Lotus No. 3	1874	" "
Dann, A. S. A.	Caddo	1840	Lower River
Davis, J. R.	Belle of Red River	1842	Lower River
	Rockaway No. 2	1851-55	" "
Delehanty	Mondiana	1845	Lower River
Delmau, Peter (evidently changed his name to Dal- man in later part of his career)	Creole	1840	Lower River
	Swan	1841	" "
	De Soto	1842	" "
	Aid	1842	" "
	Bogue Houma	1844	" "
	Hecla	1847	" "
	Caddo No. 2	1848	" "
De Meranville	St. Johns	1828	Lower River
Derby, Hugh	Mollie Fellows	1866	Lower River

<i>Captains</i>	<i>Packets</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Trade</i>
Dillon, W. F.	Friendly	1888	Upper River
	Nat F. Dortch	1889-95	Lower River
	New Haven	1890s (?)	Upper River
	Rosa Bland	1898	" "
Dodd, John J.	Silver Lake No. 4	1868	Lower River
Dowd	Lotus No. 2	1857-58	Lower River
Downs, S. W.	Storm	1855	Lower River
	Messenger	1857	" "
Dowty, J. C.	Rapides (1st)	1855	Lower River
	W. A. Andrew	1857	" "
	Dr. Buffington	1858	" "
	Peerless	1858	" "
	Rapides No. 2	1859	" "
	St. Nicholas	1864 & 68	" "
	Majestic	1865	" "
Dunn	Caspian	1851	Lower River
Edgerton	Courtland	1826-30	Lower River
Edwards, Ruth	Charleston	1830-35	Lower River
	Brian Boroihme	1836	" "
	Washington	1841-42	" "
	Maid of Kentucky	1843-46	" "
	Union	1852	" "
English	Lady Washington	1833-34	Lower River
	Nick Biddle	1837-42	" "
Frيره	Plaquemine	1828	Lower River
Gillen, William	Era No. 12	1870-71	Lower River
	Assumption	1878	" "
	Nat F. Dortch	1889-95	" "
	E. B. Wheelock	1890-95	" "
	Anna B. Adams	1891	Upper River
	C. E. Satterlee	1892-93	Lower River
Gillum, J. M.	Black Hawk	1837	Lower River
	Big Horn	1865	" "
Grace, J.	Luda D.	1868	Lower River
Graham, James	Orelina	1846	Lower River
Graham, John	Caddo	1840	Lower River
	Live Oak	1845	" "
	White Cliffs	1855	" "
Griffin	Chesapeake	1834	Lower River

<i>Captains</i>	<i>Packets</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Trade</i>
Grove, Ed.	Lizzie Tate	1868	Lower River
Gwin	Kiamichi (1st)	1825	Lower River
	Kiamichi (2nd)	1845	" "
Hall	Fannie Lewis	1868	Lower River
Hare	Shamrock	1850	Lower River
Harrison, W. C.	Sunflower	1858	Lower River
	Doubloon	1859	" "
	Bart Able	1868	" "
	B. L. Hodge No. 2	1869	" "
	D. L. Tally	1872	" "
Hart, Jesse	Persian	1836-41	Lower River
	Brilliant	1851	" "
Hatch	Saratoga	1829	Lower River
Hayes, Charles F.	Swan	1858	Lower River
	Starlight (1st)	1861-68	" "
	Starlight (2nd)	1870	" "
Hein, John	P. Miller	1842	Lower River
	Mary Hein	1865	" "
	Dora Martin	1867	" "
	Frolic	1867-68	" "
	Iatan	1869	" "
	B. L. Hodge No. 2	1870-71	" "
Heth, Harvey	Trio	1859	Upper River
	Rosa Franks	1868	" "
	Susie W.	1900	" "
Hildreth	Concord	1840	Lower River
Hinckle, H. W.	Judge McLean	1844	Lower River
Hodge, Gus	B. L. Hodge No. 1	1866	Lower River
	Golden Era	1868	" "
	Bertha	1870	" "
Hord	Patrick Henry	1840-41	Lower River
Houston	Fanny Fern	1854	Lower River
Irwin, Sam	Picayune	1846	Lower River
Jackson	John B. Laclede	1832	Lower River
Jacobs, Thornton E.	Southwestern	1870-74	Lower River
	Danube	1880	" "

<i>Captains</i>	<i>Packets</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Trade</i>
Johnson, Cheney	Louis D'Or	1866	Lower River
	Caroline	1868	" "
Johnson, Hiram	Julia	1842	Lower River
	Banner of		
	Attakapas	1845	" "
	Julia	1846	" "
	Le Compte	1858	" "
Kay, William	Ellen	1845	Lower River
	Peter Delmau	1851-52	" "
	Sydonia	1854	" "
Kimball, B. F.	B. F. Kimball	1851	Lower River
Kimball, J. R.	Arkansas	1820-21	Lower River
	Alexandria	1825	" "
Kimball, P. F.	John Linton	1840	Lower River
	Cote Joyouse	1844	" "
	Cora	1845	" "
Kimball, William	John T. Doswell	1848	Lower River
	P. F. Kimball	1851-58	" "
	B. F. Kimball	1856	" "
	D. R. Carroll	1858	" "
Kouns, Ben B.	Era No. 4	1858-60	Lower River
	T. W. Roberts	1861-63	" "
	Fannie Gilbert	1867	" "
	Lady Grace	1867	" "
	La Fourche	1867-69	" "
	Pioneer Era	1869	" "
Kouns, Isaac H.	Era No. 1	1858	Lower River
	Navigator	1866	" "
	Armadello	1868	" "
	Era No. 8	1868-69	" "
	Era No. 13	1870	" "
	Col. A. P. Kouns	1874	" "
Kouns, John H.	Era No. 3	1858	Lower River
	Grand Era	1860-64	" "
	B. L. Hodge	1866	" "
	Fannie Gilbert	1868	" "
	La Fourche	1868	" "
	Gossamer	1869	" "
	Grey Eagle	1869	" "
	B. L. Hodge No. 2	1870-71	" "
	Selma	1870-74	" "

<i>Captains</i>	<i>Packets</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Trade</i>
Kouns, Lou	E. B. Wheelock	1889-95	Lower River
	City of Little Rock	1893-94	" "
Kouns, Mart H.	Era No. 1	1870	Lower River
	Era No. 9	1871	" "
	Era No. 11	1872	" "
	Cotton Valley	1876-78	" "
Lawless, John	Mexico	1855	Lower River
Lawless, J. Y.	Chas. Morgan	1855	Lower River
Lecardo	Superior	1823-25	Lower River
Lee, H. L.	Enterprise	1858	Lower River
	Alabama	1860-67	" "
	Gladiola	1869-74	" "
Lenview, P.	De Soto	1842	Lower River
Leonard, A.	Magnolia Banner	1856	Lower River
Lindley, P.	DeKalb	1840-41	Lower River
	Demoiné	1841-44	" "
Lodwick, Joseph P.	Republic	1843	Lower River
	Robt. Lytel	1844	" "
Lodwick, M. W.	Planter	1844-47	Lower River
	Ben Campbell	1850	" "
	City Belle	1854	" "
	Sunbeam	1856	" "
	Dora	1868	" "
Long, D.	Bonita	1855	Lower River
Main, William	Linda	1857	Lower River
	Swamp Ranger	1858	" "
Marshall, C. E.	R. W. Adams	1857	Lower River
	B. L. Hodge No. 1	1857-58	" "
	Mittie Stevens	1862	" "
Martin, John	Compromise	1850-55	Lower River
Mather	Privateer	1832-37	Lower River
McClure	Miami	1841	Lower River
McComas	Julia A. Rudolph	1869-71	Lower River
McGuire	John Linton	1834	Lower River
McKinney, B.	Jefferson	1852	Lower River

<i>Captains</i>	<i>Packets</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Trade</i>
Michael, William M.	Rex (1st)	1891	Upper River
	Rex (2nd)	1901	" "
Miller, O. A.	Elizabeth	1839	Lower River
	Elizabetha	1843	" "
Miller, S. F.	Medora	1847	Lower River
Montgomery, P. C.	National	1858	Lower River
	B. L. Hodge No. 1	1868	" "
	Seminole	1874	" "
Montgomery, Sam	Mary Bess	1856	Lower River
	Montgomery	1857-58	" "
Moore, Len	Beaver	1843	Lower River
	Robt. Fulton	1847	" "
	Era No. 7	1861	" "
Moore, Thomas	Flounder	1855	Upper River
	Hope	1858	" "
Morton, R. H.	Holden	1858	Lower River
Moss	Hempstead	1840	Lower River
Muggah, D.	St. Mary	1846	Lower River
Murray	Florence	1825	Lower River
Muse, J. F.	Elenora	1868	Lower River
	Glide	1868	" "
	Celeste	1869	" "
Nearron, F. G.	Little Yazoo	1844	Lower River
Oldham, Wm. H.	T. D. Hine	1865-66	Lower River
Parker, E.	Piota (1st)	1856	Lower River
	Piota (2nd)	1857-60	" "
Phelps, James E.	Rinaldo	1862	Lower River
	Judge Fletcher	1868	" "
Place, Henry	Perseverance	1855	Lower River
Poe, Thomas E.	Nick Wall	1870	Lower River
	Mary E. Poe	1872	" "
Poff, John	Fleta	1870	Lower River
	Oceanus	1871	" "

<i>Captains</i>	<i>Packets</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Trade</i>
Rea, Ben C.	Valley Queen	1895	Lower River
	Gem	1900	" "
Rea, George Washington	Texas (2nd)	1867	Lower River
	Texas (3rd)	1869	" "
	Carrie Converse	1870	" "
	Belle Rowland	1871	" "
	Alexandria	1875	" "
	Jesse K. Bell	1879	" "
	Hallette	1880	" "
	Garland	1881	" "
	Yazoo Valley	1885	" "
	Valley Queen	1889-95	" "
	C. E. Satterlee	1892-93	" "
Rea, Jesse K. Bell	Valley Queen	1896	Lower River
Rea, Thomas W.	Silver Bow (1st)	1860	Lower River
	Silver Bow (3rd)	1869	" "
	Belle of Shreveport	1872-73	" "
	Lizzie Rea	1875	" "
	Gem	1898	Upper River
Reed	Car of Commerce	1827	Lower River
	Aid	1844	" "
Reeder, A.	Oceanus	1872	Lower River
Reeder, T. J.	Travis Wright	1869	Lower River
Reynolds, Charles F.	Sallie Robinson 1st	1856-63	Lower River
	Sallie Robinson 2nd	1876	" "
Rhoades	Swan	1840-41	Lower River
	Swamp Fox (1st)	1853-54	" "
	Swamp Fox (2nd)	1857	" "
	Swamp Fox (3rd)	1858-60	" "
	Anna Perrett	1874	" "
Root, John T.	Lizzie Hamilton	1866	Upper River
	Iron City	1867	" "
	Lizzie Hopkins	1868	" "
	Lightest	1870	" "
	Hazel Estelle	1891	" "
Rulen	Eliza	1821	Lower River
Sands	Frontier	1843	Lower River
Scott	Vesta	1840	Lower River
Scovell, Frank E.	W. T. Scovell	1896	Lower River

<i>Captains</i>	<i>Packets</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Trade</i>
Scovell, Matt	Royal George	1873	Upper River
	Joe Bryarly	1878	Lower River
	Anna B. Adams	1891	Upper River
	Imperial	1894	Lower River
	W. T. Scovell	1896	" "
Scovell, Noah	Era No. 5	1860-63	Lower River
	Right Way	1860s	" "
	Texarkana	1869-72	" "
	Carrie Poole	1870	" "
	R. T. Bryarly	1872-76	" "
	Era No. 10	1873	" "
	Bonnie Lee	1876-78	" "
	John D. Scully	1890	" "
	Imperial	1894	" "
Scovell, Wm. Tiley	Era No. 2	1858	Lower River
	Pioneer Era	1860s	" "
	Selma	1869	" "
	Tidal Wave	1870-72	" "
	Dacotah	1889-93	" "
	Nat F. Dortch	1889-95	" "
	John D. Scully	1890	" "
	C. E. Satterlee	1892-93	" "
	Imperial	1895	" "
Seaman, A. P.	G. W. Mayo	1897	Upper River
	Elk	1898	" "
Seth, Frank	Independence	1866-68	Upper River
	Jo Walker	1898	" "
Shreve, Henry M.	Enterprise	1814-15	Lower River
Shriever	John Linton	1834	Lower River
Shute, John	Cuba	1866	Upper River
	Gem of the Antilles	1867	" "
Silver, David	Frolic	1865-67	Lower River
	Emilie La Barge	1871	" "
	Susie Silver	1872-73	" "
Sinnott, Richard	Cuba (1st)	1851-55	Lower River
	National	1857-60	" "
	New National	1866-69	" "
	Bart Able	1874-78	" "
	Jesse K. Bell	1879	" "
Smith, Frank	D. L. Tally	1870	Lower River
Smith, J. W.	Judge Fletcher	1861	Lower River
Smith, S. T.	Batesville	1844	Lower River

<i>Captains</i>	<i>Packets</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Trade</i>
Smoker, John	P. Miller	1838-42	Lower River
	Brian Boroihme	1840	" "
	Express Mail	1841	" "
	Bois D'Arc	1843	" "
	National	1868	" "
	Robt. Watson	1869	" "
Sweeney, George	Falls City	1858	Lower River
Symmes, H. H.	Mayflower	1868	Lower River
	Mary E. Forsythe	1871	" "
	Mollie Able	1878	" "
Talbot, W. H.	Louisiana	1855	Lower River
Tandy, C. W.	Frank Morgan	1870	Lower River
Targarona, P.	Live Oak	1865-66	Lower River
Thompson, J. V.	Cumanche	1841	Lower River
Thorne	Danube	1878	Lower River
Truslow, Charles P.	Era No. 10	1870	Lower River
Tucker, J. M.	S. F. J. Trube	1858	Lower River
	Irene	1866-68	" "
	Moonson	1868	" "
	Leo	1869	" "
Underwood, William	Irene	1868	Lower River
Vandegrift, S. W.	Manchester	1836-41	Lower River
	Rodolph	1844	" "
	Dolphin	1844	" "
	Yallabusha	1844-48	" "
Vawter, David	South Western	1840	Lower River
Walls	Rover	1830	Upper River
Waters, William	Alexandria	1820	Lower River
Watson, Robert	Elenora	1864	Upper River
	Elenora	1865	" "
	Rosa Franks	1867	" "
Welch, M.	Bravo	1833	Lower River
	Star	1842	" "
	Rodolph (1st)	1844	" "
	Helena	1846	" "
	Rodolph (2nd)	1855	" "

<i>Captains</i>	<i>Packets</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Trade</i>
Wetherbury, W. W.	Monterey	1840s	Lower River
	Llama	1842	" "
	Franklin Pierce	1853	" "
	P. F. Kimball	1858	" "
White, Ben S.	Sterling White	1878	U. R. Ferry
	Emma Irwin	1880-84	" " "
	John G. Fletcher	1884-86	Lower River
White, George L.	Danube	1880	Lower River
	Jennie	1880s	" "
	John G. Fletcher	1884-86	" "
	Florence		
	(gov't. boat)	1880s	" "
	Trout	1890s	" "
	Hallette	1891	" "
	Electra	1897	" "
	Wm. Garig	1906	" "
	City of Shreveport	1909	" "
White, John W.	Lotawanna	1868	Lower River
Wilson, C. H.	Creole (2nd)	1847	Lower River
	Creole (3rd)	1857	" "
Wilson, George C.	Countess (1st)	1855	Lower River
	Countess (2nd)	1864	" "
Wilson, Hiram	Beeswing	1844	Lower River
Wingard, J. C.	Anne Everson	1874	Lower River
Wood, M. N.	New World	1846-48	Lower River
	New World No. 2	1849-50s	" "
	Home	1850	" "
	Sarah Gordon	1850-58	" "
	Iris	1852	" "
	Wabash Valley	1855-58	" "
	Trent	1855-58	" "
	Dixie	1860	" "
	Red Shield	1860-63	" "
	New Era	1865	" "
	Lotus No. 2	1865	" "
	Lotus No. 3	1866-67	" "
	La Belle	1873-78	" "
	Silver City	1878	" "
	Whisper	1878	" "
Wood, N. R.	Kentucky	1840-41	Lower River
Wright, Isaac	Rapide	1834	Lower River
	Water Witch	1840-41	" "
	Republic	1842	" "
Young	Yazoo	1840	Lower River

RED RIVER WAY LANDINGS

Way landings on any river are inseparably associated with steamboats and rivermen. Landings derive their names from several sources: (a) from the name of the person owning the property; (b) from the name given a landing by the owner of the property; (c) from woodyards which supplied steamboats with fuel; (d) from the larger towns along the course of the river; (e) from the small post office stations and stores located between the larger towns; (f) from some physiographic landmark, as a bluff, etc.; and (g) from the name of a wrecked steamboat.

The arrival and departure of a steamboat was a dramatic ceremony in which the local population and steamboatmen participated with equal interest. The mellow, sonorous tones of the organ-whistle blowing for the landing; the silver-toned jingle of the signal bells in the engine room; the slow, deliberate, deep-throated groans of the 'scape pipes; the churning of the water by the huge paddle wheel; the clouds of black smoke belching forth from the tall, feather-crowned twin chimneys; the sharp commands of the captain or mate; the creaking of the blocks as the stage was swung outward over the guards preparatory to being lowered to the bank; the whine of the hemp "hawse line" as it stretched to the breaking point to check the boat's momentum; the rush of visitors to board the boat; the chanting roustabouts, "coon-jining" across the long stageplank; the booming tone of the roof bell notifying visitors and crew of the imminence of the boat's departure; the roar of the smokestacks which accompanied the stoking of the furnaces; the farewell gestures of those aboard and of those on shore; then again the creaking of blocks and the throb of the "nigger-engine" while the stage was being "histed" and swung into proper position; the jangling of the signal bells; the sighing of the 'scape pipes; the measured beat of the paddle wheel on the river surface and the disappearance of the boat around the bend were a combination of activities and events truly theatrical in content, because it brought a phase of metropolitan life to the planter's doorstep to momentarily break the monotony of his existence.

The steamboat served the residents of the valley in many capacities. It functioned as a post office, as a bank, and as a floating store and brokerage firm. As late as 1900 it afforded a more comfortable means of passenger travel than the railroads.

Moreover, as long as steamboats were on the river the people could ship or receive freight at reasonable rates.

The writer has been very fortunate in obtaining a list of Red River way landings from an authentic source. The list presented is from Capt. Jesse K. Bell Rea's personal records of these landings when he served as a pilot and a master on the many steamboats which his father, Capt. George Washington Rea, owned or commanded during his long career as a Red River steamboat operator. This list includes landings on Red River in the 1880s and 1890s. Perhaps the names of a few of these landings have been changed as a consequence of a change of ownership or as a result of the unpredictable shift in the channel course of this turbulent river which would leave an old landing on an abandoned meander loop of the river. However, more than ninety percent of these old way landings are to be found on recent maps compiled by the United States Engineer Department. The list is included to perpetuate their historical significance to future students of this river's glorious past.

List of the landings (the letters R and L indicate whether or not the landing was on the right or left bank, when ascending the river) :

R—Stopsa
 L—Chandler's
 L—Keller's
 L—Hagan's
 L—Waverly
 L—Barbaries
 L—Water Valley
 R—De Soto (wreck of steamer
 De Soto of 1842)
 L—Marcotte
 R—Cocodria
 L—Virgin's Camp
 L—Hard Times
 R—Rover's Wood Yard
 L—Janet's
 R—Water's or Saucier's
 L—Joffrion's
 L—Smalls'

R—Blue Light
 L—Frank's Wood Yard
 R—Cammack's or Rushton's
 L—Mormillard's Wood Yard
 L—Murray's or Raccourcia
 L—Gautier's Wood Yard
 L—Normand's Wood Yard
 L—Kalamazoo
 L—Normand's Eddy
 R—Hallette (point where
 Hallette sank)
 L—Lost Prairie
 R—Double Eddy
 R—Bob Wiley's
 L—Gayarré's
 L—Arctic
 L—Clavarie's
 L—J. A. Normand's

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|---|--|
| L—L. A. Normand's | L—Star (possibly the wreck of
the steamer <i>Star</i>) |
| L—J. C. Constance's little
white house 100 yards
above Bertlont Street. | L—Gremillion's |
| L—L. M. and A. Juneau's | L—Laborde's |
| L—J. A. Brouillette's | R—Experiment |
| R—F. A. Brouillette's | R—A. A. (Midway Landing) |
| L—J. A. White's | L—New Electra Wood Yard |
| R—Deville's Wood Yard | R—Myrtle Grove Midway |
| L—Mouillard's | L—Chaffufield's |
| R—Bazile's | L—Snaggy Point (Meyeaux's) |
| L—P. E. Deville's | R—Cassandria |
| R—Nogues' | R—New Ashland |
| L—C. Moreau's | L—F. P. Laborde's |
| L—Wares' | L—Guillotte's |
| L—Bettery's | L—C. L. Laborde's |
| L—Barbin's | L—Norman's Bar |
| L—Reynaud's | R—Punch Cannon's Brick Yard |
| R—L. L. Coco's | R—William Vaughn's |
| R—G. L. Meyers' | L—Latchneff's |
| L—Norman's Landing | R—Ennis' Bluff |
| L—H. Edwards' | L—Joe Lamartinere's |
| L—Johnson Bayou | L—Glover's Bar |
| R—Brouillette's | L—New Landing |
| R—Magloire | L—Guillotte's |
| R—P. J. Laborde's | L—Egg Bend (Jules Didier's
Store) |
| R—Cotton Wood Bayou | L—Lamartinere's |
| R—H. Dozier's | L—Cox's Wood Yard |
| R—John Batiste Amos' | L—Sunrise Gin |
| R—H. J. Clark's | R—John Grimes' (Ingleside) |
| R—Mrs. Ferguson's | L—Look Out |
| R—Times Bend | L—Rapides Dyke |
| L—L. Saucier's | L—Echo |
| R—Boo Dog Point Wood Yard | L—Redville |
| R—George Berlin's | L—Once More |
| L—Electra | R—Gasa Gara |
| L—E. Dupuy's | R—Grimes' Bluff |
| L—V. Brouillette's | L—Slettland |
| L—O. F. Laborde's | L—New Poland |
| R—Baker's | L—Providence Bar |
| L—Moncla's | L—Winona |

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|--|---|
| R—New Ash | L—Texas Point (wreck of steamer <i>Texas</i> of 1869) |
| L—S. C. Readman (Red River pilot) or O. T. Hackney | R—Centennial |
| R—Cotton Wood Grove | R—Sandy Bayou |
| L—Casa or L. K. Peart's | L—O'Neal's |
| R—Dysart's | L—Sam Henry's |
| R—New Home | L—Bellevue |
| L—B. T. Lewis' | L—David's Wood Yard |
| R—Hoggs' | L—Pineville |
| L—Creole Bend (Dormond's) | R—Alexandria |
| L—Creole Bend (Wilson's) | L—Forrest and Co. |
| R—Stonewall | R—Swilley's |
| L—Beaver Dam | R—E. J. Barrett's |
| R—Palo Alto | L—Opposum Trot |
| L—Hortensia | R—Waters' |
| L—Jones' Quarters | L—E. J. P. Landing |
| L—Smith's | L—Cruckshank's |
| R—Ditch Island (abreast of Ansa) | R—China Grove |
| L—Ansa or Cornella | R—New Hope |
| L—Ralph Smith's | L—Maryee's |
| D. A. Smith's | L—Ashburn |
| L—Kanomie | L—Brookville |
| R—Opposite Kanomie | R—Omega |
| R—Williams' | L—Adams' |
| L—Tramway | L—Excellsor and Hall's |
| L—Rogers' (Welchton) | R—Avoca |
| L—Gum Point | L—Ashbourne |
| R—Hawthorn's | L—Harris Robinson's |
| L—Cummings' Gin | R—Bellevue |
| R—Perly's | L—Bertrand's or Dr. Sullivan's |
| R—Wise's Hay House | R—Darro's |
| R—Grand Bend | L—Smith's |
| R—Ernst's Wood Yard | L—Hoyville |
| R—Peart's Wood Yard | L—Cotile (Boyce) |
| L—Ashton | R—Village's |
| R—Cannon's Wood Yard | R—Lower Flagland's |
| L—Greenville | L—Ulster's |
| L—Johnston's or Enterprise | R—Upper Flagland's |
| L—Cut Off Bayou | L—Corrinne or Spencer's |
| | R—Fairmont |
| | R—Klondyke |

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|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| R—Kateland | L—S. St. André's |
| L—Huchez | R—Cotton Wood Grove |
| L—Rosedale | L—Mankeim's |
| L—Carrola | R—Leoda |
| L—R. L. Carnahan's Gin | R—O. St. André's |
| R—Deal's | L—Orelia (Moses') |
| R—J. R. Miller | R—Florence |
| R—Lower Raven Camp | L—Young's Wood Yard |
| L—Carnahan's | L—J. E. Leroux's |
| L—Vallé's | R—Redemption |
| L—M. E. Landing | R—Nawtachie |
| R—Johnsville | R—Waddell's |
| R—Up Raven Camp | R—Billé's (Selina) |
| L—Joe Dwellingham's | L—Quinn's Wood Yard |
| L—Jesse Long's | R—Billé's |
| L—Robert Clark's | R—One Eye |
| R—Nashland | R—Grand Champs |
| R—Mirabeau | L—DesLoches' |
| L—Jerry Brown's | R—Torriss' |
| R—Wickland | L—Planter's |
| L—Hays' Wood Yard | R—Craig's |
| R—K. and T. Landing | L—Waco |
| R—Colfax | L—Selfs' |
| L—Morantine | L—Buxton's |
| L—Cane River | R—Sharp's |
| R—Buck Eye | R—Bell's Wood Yard |
| R—Rock Island | R—Christy's |
| L—C. A. Peirson's | L—Durand's |
| R—Spring Lake | L—Currie's Gin |
| R—Montana Wood Yard | L—Lodi |
| L—P. Moreaux's Wood Yard | R—Creole Bluffs |
| L—Prothros' | L—Modoc (Dr. Jackson's) |
| L—Nancy Hanks' | L—S. B. Landing |
| R—Mic Mills' | R—Montgomery |
| R—Acadia | R—Pike's Peak |
| L—P. Moreaux's | L—Richardville |
| R—Eureka | R—Shaw's |
| R—Okata | L—High Die |
| R—Dartigo | R—E. T. Barfield's |
| L—Louis' Wood Yard on Point | R—Da Da |
| R—C. A. Moore's or Sycamore | L—Topeka |

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|---------------------------------------|---|
| L—Tavaron | R—Fisher's |
| R—Dunn's | R—Clarence |
| L—O. K. Landing | R—Dr. Butler's (Iynka) |
| L—Meda | L—Hynes' |
| L—Beulah | R—Desidere |
| R—Kimbell's | R—Greeneaux's or Debleaux's
and Samparac's |
| R—Shire's | L—Grand Ecore |
| L—S. P. Landing | L—Fontenot's |
| R—W. J. Johnson's | R—Baxter's |
| R—J. N. and J. G. Johnson's
Rescue | R—McTier's |
| L—Dr. Herring's | R—William John Louis Perot's |
| R—Lower St. Maurice's | R—Head of Perot's Bar |
| R—Upper St. Maurice's | L—Tanzin's |
| R—Saline Point | L—Mrs. Walle't's |
| L—Daisy | R—Gainier's |
| L—Johnson's | L—A. A. Rachal's |
| L—Prothro's | L—Hyman's |
| L—Bermuda | L—Golconda |
| L—J. A. Johnson's | L—J. B. Walle't's |
| L—Allen's | R—Buena Vista |
| L—Gambell's | R—Hyman's or Perot's
(Gloseau) |
| L—Nelkins' | L—Levassieur's |
| L—Bissant's | L—Hart's |
| L—Cammack's | R—Condé's |
| R—Hecla (wreck of str. <i>Hecla</i>) | R—Hammett's |
| L—Vienna | R—Campti |
| L—Duncaneaux's | R—Readheimerville |
| R—Edna | L—Rosa |
| L—Wallace Hay's Farm | R—Florence |
| R—H. Peirson's | L—Asia |
| R—Iola | L—Camp Rowdy |
| R—Plaisance (Verchers) | L—Marcy's Cut Off |
| L—Tessiers' | L—A. C. Perot's |
| L—Galliow's | R—Mrs. Knight's |
| R—Edward's | R—Cyril Perot's |
| R—Clark's | L—Le Compte (wreck of the
str. <i>Le Compte</i> of 1855) |
| R—McLaurian's | L—Upper Le Compte |
| L—Lestiage | L—Mme. Jos. Perot's |
| L—Payne's | |
| R—Moore's | |

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|--|-------------------------------------|
| R—Kitchen's | R—Lisso's |
| L—Boyce's | L—Flat Bayou |
| R—Bandarris's | R—Coushatta |
| L—Brazeal's | L—Capin Point |
| R—Lac Paul Deau | R—Stella's |
| R—Grappé's Bluff | L—Ethel's |
| L—Timons' | L—Eureka |
| R—Walnut Hills | R—Squirrel Point |
| L—Breaux Claire | L—Glen Martin's |
| L—Lac De Muir | L—Cottage Home |
| L—Olipphant's | L—Honey Bayou |
| L—Thorn's | L—B. C. Lee's |
| L—Red Plains | R—Somerset |
| R—Bullett's Bluff | L—Bonnie Doon's |
| L—Brownsville, Upper and
Lower | R—Monticello |
| R—Terry's and Bird's Point | L—Willow Point |
| L—Lakeland | R—Bienville |
| L—Blair's | R—Belmont |
| R—Shortway | L—Elmwood |
| L—Athlone | R—Texas Wood Yard |
| R—Longview | L—Last Chance |
| L—Carner's | L—Greening's |
| R—Mary L. Landing | R—Scully's Wood Yard |
| L—Kenilworth | R—Dubois' |
| R—Brier Bend | R—Loco |
| L—R. Bryant's or Powell's | L—Pecan Point |
| R—R. M. Brown's or Stanfield's | R—Forrest's |
| L—Lizzie Brown's | L—Forston's or Yarborough's |
| L—Viva | L—Grand Bayou Watkins |
| L—Tuscan | L—Mathilda Taylor's |
| L—Bob Brown's
(Idle Bryant's) | L—G. W. Warren's |
| R—Dan Gridden's | L—North Side Grand Bayou
Watkins |
| L—Bayou Wincey | L—I. O. U. Landing |
| L—Dixie (wreck of the steamer
<i>Dixie</i> of 1860) | L—Murrell's |
| L—Kent's | R—Stalling's |
| R—Climax | R—Willow Grove |
| L—James' | L—Upper Murrell's |
| R—Hays' (Capin Rous) | L—Crescent |
| | R—Elder Grove |
| | L—Ashland |

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| R—Star Point | L—Jeff Cole's |
| L—Home Place | L—Jewella |
| R—William Boland's | L—Webster's or Hard |
| R—McKinney's | Scramble |
| L—C. A. Nelson's | R—Boston Stack House or |
| L—You Bet | 16th Section |
| R—B. Store | R—Renison's |
| R—East Point | R—Christiana |
| R—Barnett's | L—Campo Bella |
| L—Whit Williams' | L—Lancet Point |
| L—Gray's | L—White Hall |
| R—Stewart's | R—China Grove |
| R—Loggy Bayou | R—Hijohatti |
| L—Panola No. 1 (wreck of the | R—Turniss' |
| str. <i>Panola No. 1</i> , 1839) | R—Elliott's |
| L—Panola No. 2 (wreck of the | R—Lovely Point |
| str. <i>Panola No. 2</i> , 1844) | L—Caspiana |
| R—Treadwell's | L—Magnola |
| L—Mount Flat | R—Knox's Point |
| R—Telegram (wreck of the | L—Mrs. Nesbit's |
| steamer <i>Telegram</i> of 1858) | White Hurst's |
| L—Rainbow Bend | L—Logie Lea's |
| L—Walmsley's | L—Pascagoula |
| R—Des Arc | R—Bates' Place |
| R—Ninock | R—White House |
| L—Cotton Point | R—Elm Grove |
| L—Lotus (wreck of steamer | L—Young's Point |
| <i>Lotus No. 2</i> of 1858) | R—Hopewell |
| R—Ninock Wood Yard | R—Gold Dust |
| R—Phillippi | L—Ashwood |
| R—Irishman's Shanty | R—Navigator (wreck of str. |
| R—Dunnison's | <i>Navigator</i> of 1854) |
| L—Corn Point | R—Magnenta |
| R—Gatkins' Gin | L—Brown's Place |
| R—Grand Bend | R—Waterloo |
| L—Woodside | L—G. W. Musser's |
| L—Buffalo Point (wreck of str. | R—W. D. Merceir's |
| <i>Buffalo</i> of 1845) | L—Goodwin's |
| R—Bear Point | R—Ash Point |
| L—Cross Keys | L—Lotus (wreck of str. <i>Lotus</i> |
| R—Buck Horn | of 1840) |

R—Clydesdale
L—Long Branch
R—Grappé's
L—Maryland
R—Lattier's
R—Scopena
L—New Hope
L—Staten Place
R—Childress'
R—Pruitt's
L—Kirwen's
L—Dupré's
L—Boytown's
L—E. K. Hall's
R—Sunny Point
L—Riverdale
R—Halychon

L—Caldwell's
R—Devil's Elbow
L—Lower Eagle Bend
R—Sunflower (wreck of str.
 Sunflower of 1858)
L—Upper Eagle Bend
R—Lower Chalk Level
L—Dixie
R—Dan Nicholson's
R—Upper Chalk Level
R—Mack's Bayou
L—Grigsby's
R—Belcher's
R—Tulson's
R—R. T. Vinson's
L—Shreveport

BOOK REVIEW

Handbook for Translators of Spanish Historical Documents.
By J. Villasana Haggard, assisted by Malcolm Dallas McLean.
(Archives Collections, The University of Texas, photoprinted by Semco Color Press, Oklahoma City, 1941. Pp. viii, 198. \$1.50.)

This trial issue of a *Handbook for Translators* "is the result of the coöperative effort of a number of interested persons over a period of years." It has grown out of the extensive experience of Mr. Haggard and others in transcribing and translating Spanish historical documents, and its objectives are to provide a guide that may help translators to avoid errors and "to standardize the translation and transcription of Spanish historical documents." The authors are aware of the difficulties in the way of any effort to standardize translations, and they are certainly correct in pointing out the need for standardization in transcription.

The manual is divided into five chapters dealing with theory, paleography, procedure in translation, special aids, and transcription. There are three appendices: one gives illustrative documents in original, transcription, and translation; another reproduces specimens of handwriting; and the third lists manuscript alphabets from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries. The brief chapter on theory is followed by an explanation of how Spanish handwriting developed and a discussion of mechanical aids for reading obscure manuscripts. Chapter III lays down rules of procedure in translation and adequately illustrates the process. The experienced translator will find Chapter IV of greatest value. Here are given useful lists of stock words and phrases with English equivalents, expressions with special meanings, abbreviations and symbols, weights and measures, and monetary terms and equivalents. The rules for transcription of manuscripts in Chapter V should be valuable for scholars and archival workers alike.

The authors have made a contribution of extraordinary worth. Only those who have struggled with some of the problems considered in this *Handbook* can appreciate the labor that has gone into it. If such persons will coöperate with the authors by offering suggestions derived from their own experience, the next edition of the *Handbook* will have a secure place as an indispensable tool for all who work with Spanish historical documents.

HARRIS GAYLORD WARREN

Louisiana State University

RECORDS OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF LOUISIANA XCI.

July, 1763

(Continued from January, 1942, Quarterly)

By G. LUGANO

Revised by Walter Prichard

By the Editor of the Quarterly

List of officials of Louisiana participating in the work of the Superior Council of Louisiana contained in this installment:

- | | |
|---|---|
| De Kerlérec, Louis Billouart,
Chevalier, Governor | Devezin, Pierre Francois Oli-
vier, Councillor, Inspector of
Highways, and Surveyor
General of Louisiana |
| Dabbadie, Jean Jacques Blaise,
Commissioner General of
the Marine, Intendant, and
First Judge of the Superior
Council | De la Houssaye, Paul Augustin
Le Pelletier, Town Major of
New Orleans |
| De la Lande d'Apremont,
Charles Marie, Councillor
Assessor | D'Orville, Assistant Town Ma-
jor of New Orleans |
| De Lafreniere, Nicolas Chau-
vin, Procureur General | Garic, Jean Baptiste, Royal
Notary and Chief Clerk of
the Superior Council |
| Lesassier, Charles, Councillor
Assessor | Broutin, Francois, Royal No-
tary and Clerk of the Su-
perior Council |
| Delaunay, Louis Alexandre
Piot, Councillor Assessor | Lenormand, Marin, Sheriff |
| De Kernion, Jean Francois
Huchet, Councillor Assessor | Bary, Marin Pierre, Deputy
Sheriff |
| De la Chaise, Jacques, Coun-
cillor Assessor | Maison, Joseph, Sheriff (1764) |
| De la Place, Joseph Adrien,
Councillor Assessor, and
acting Procureur General | Ducros, Joseph, Attorney for
Vacant Estates |
| | Gardrat, Henry, Surgeon Ma-
jor of New Orleans |
| | Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros:
Clerks or secretaries of the
Superior Council |

July 1, 1763.

1 p.

Grandpré succession:
Procureur General
Lafreniere informs
D'Abbadie of the
death of Captain
Grandpré, and prays
for permit to affix
seals on property
of the deceased,
for protection of
all interested parties.

To Monsieur D'Abbadie, President of the Superior Council of Louisiana:

The Procureur General of the King represents that he has been informed that Mr. Grandpré, Knight of the Order of St. Louis and Captain of a company of the troops garrisoned in this city, died between five and six o'clock in the afternoon at his residence; and for the protection of all interested parties requests that it may please Your Excellency to appoint a commissioner, before whom, and in the

presence of the Procureur General of the King and of the Town-Major, or of the assistant Town-Major, seals might be affixed on the assets of the deceased.

New Orleans, July 1, 1763. (Signed): Lafreniere.

Permit granted.

July 1, 1763.—Permit to affix seals, as above requested, by Mr. De la Lande, appointed Commissioner in this case, in the presence of the Procureur General of the King and of the Town-Major or of the assistant Town-Major.

New Orleans, July 1, 1763. (Signed): Dabbadie.

July 2.

3 pp.

Grandpré succession:
Affixing of the
seals.

On July 2, 1763, at seven o'clock in the morning, upon petition of Monsieur de Lafreniere, Procureur General of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana, and by virtue of the order of July first, given at the bottom of said petition, Mr. Charles Marie de La Lande Dapremont, Councillor of said Council, appointed Commissioner in this case, accompanied by the said Procureur General of the King, by the Clerk and by the Sheriff of the Council, went to the residence of the late Mr. Louis De Grandpré, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Captain of Infantry, for the purpose of affixing seals on the property of the succession and to take an inventory of all the effects therein.

And upon entering the said residence, there was found the dead body of said deceased, and his widow, Madame Thereze De Hamilly, who declared, under oath, that nothing belonging to the succession had been removed or concealed; whereupon the said Commissioner proceeded as follows, for the protection of the minor children of the deceased and for the preservation of the rights of all persons who might have an interest in the succession:

And upon entering the said residence, there was found the dead body of said deceased, and his widow, Madame Thereze De Hamilly, who declared, under oath, that nothing belonging to the succession had been removed or concealed; whereupon the said Commissioner proceeded as follows, for the protection of the minor children of the deceased and for the preservation of the rights of all persons who might have an interest in the succession:

First: in the room, where the dead body lies in state, was found a little tray with a teapot, a little jar, a sugar-bowl and three porcelain cups;

Item, one chest of drawers without lock, within which nothing was found;

Item, one gilt-framed mirror, two feet high by eighteen inches wide;

Item, two checkerboard tables, and one little sewing table, all of walnut;

Item, one walnut easy-chair with its mattress and pillow-case;

Item, two walnut chairs;

Item, four portières with their rods, and four window-curtains with their rods;

Item, one small watch-case of brass;

In the dining-room there were found:

Three small stone jars, six chairs, two folding-tables;

Item, one small cypress cupboard upon which seals were affixed;

Item, one large chest closing with lock and key, on which seals were affixed;

Item, one open trunk, full of wearing apparel, on which seals were affixed;

Item, one small corner-piece with lock and key, in which were found twelve Fayence plates;

In another small room was found another cupboard containing one silver serving spoon and three silver covers, and one silver goblet;

Item, forty-four Fayence plates of different sizes;

Item, three dozen and a half porcelain dishes;

Item, four silver candlesticks, four cut glass dishes, two cut glass decanters, one cut glass cruet-stand, one dozen glasses and three goblets, one Fayence soup-tureen, two dozen plain knives, and one small stone jar;

In the next room there were found: one mahogany armoire, in which Madame the widow Grandpré had placed all the linen necessary for her own and her children's use, according to her statement;

Item, another cypress armoire, on which seals were affixed;

Item, one small mahogany writing-desk, on which seals were affixed;

Item, one bed furnished with straw mattress, woolen mattress, featherbed, quilt, curtains, head curtains, tester, all of calico; one mosquito-net, and one pair of sheets;

Item, another bed, exactly the same as the above;

Item, one cotton cloth portière, and two window curtains;

Item, one gold watch, and six walnut chairs;

Item, one small mirror, the portrait of the deceased enclosed in an old gilt frame, and one old walnut table;

Item, one porcelain sugar-bowl, two teapots, three coffee-cups with their saucers, and three other Fayence saucers;

In a small closet were found:

One small bed in bad condition and three woolen mattresses for the children;

In the cellar were found: one hogshead full of wine, one hundred and fifty empty bottles, one salting-jar, one stone sink, three large kettles;

In the kitchen were found: one fish-kettle, one shovel, one pair of tongs; nine iron kettles, some small and some large; three frying-pans, one gridiron, one molder, one tart-dish, one ladle, two saucepans, two skewers, one chopper, one tin coffee-pot, two iron-hooped pails, two iron-hooped washtubs, two tin watering-pots, one copper watering-pot, one hatchet, one pickax, one iron rake.

And, since nothing else subject to seals was found in evidence, the whole was left in the keeping of the said Madame Thereze de Chamilly, the deceased's wife, who voluntarily took charge of same and promised to preserve the said seals and to produce same whenever requested to do so.

And the whole was performed with the consent of the Procureur General of the King and in the presence of Monsieur Dorville, assistant Town-Major, duly summoned to ascertain if there were any affairs concerning His Majesty.

(Signed): Delalande; Galar widow Grandpré; Lafreniere; Lenormand; D'Orville; Garic, Clerk.

July 4.

7 pp.

Grandpré succession:
The Procureur
General petitions
for a family meeting
to select a tutor
and under-tutor to
the Grandpré minors.

Petition to Monsieur D'Abbadie, President of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana:

The Procureur General of the Council represents that Madame the widow Grandpré has made a request for the removal of the seals affixed on the effects of the late Mr. Grandpré, her husband; and, since a tutor and an under-tutor for the minors must be appointed before the seals can be raised, petitioner requests that it may please Your Excellency to order that the minors' relatives, and, in default of relatives, the deceased's friends, be convened before Mr. de Lalande, appointed Commissioner in this case, and in the presence of the Procureur

General of the King, for the selection of a tutor and under-tutor for the said minors.

New Orleans, July 4, 1763. (Signed) : Lafreniere.

Permit granted
for a family
meeting.

July 4, 1763.—Permit to convene relatives, and, in their default, friends of the said late Mr. Grandpré, before Mr. Delalande, Commissioner in this case, and in the presence of the Procureur General, to select a tutor and under-tutor for the minors.

New Orleans, July 4, 1763. (Signed) : Dabbadie.

Summons served
by the Sheriff
on relatives
and friends.

July 4, 1763.—On July 4, 1763, by virtue of the foregoing order, Marin Lenormand, Sheriff of the Superior Council, summoned the following relatives and friends of the late Mr. de Grandpré:

Mr. Delahoussaye, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Town-Major, a relative of the Grandpré minors; Mr. Le Sassier, Councillor Assessor of the Superior Council, brother-in-law of said minors; Mr. Carriere, warehouseman of the King at English Turn, brother-in-law of said minors; Mr. Broutin, uncle by marriage of said minors; Mr. Delivaudais, Sr., Port Captain, a family friend; Mr. Devilliers, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Captain of Infantry, a family friend; Mr. Olivier de Vezin, Inspector of the Highways, a family friend; Mr. Robin de Logny, a family friend: to appear tomorrow, Tuesday, at eight o'clock in the morning, before Mr. de la Lande, Councillor Commissioner in this case, to express their advice and select a tutor and an under-tutor for the said minors. (Signed) : Lenormand.

Lesassier's letter
to Delalande,
expressing his
opinion.

July 5, 1763.—Monsieur: Madame de Grandpré informed me that it was her husband's wish that she be the tutrix and that she indicated Monsieur Robin de Logny, who is a very honorable man, as the under-tutor. It is my belief that he will faithfully perform the duties of that trust; and it is my advice that both be selected.

I am, Monsieur, Your very humble and obedient servant.

New Orleans, July 5, 1763. (Signed) : Lesassier.

Olivier de Vezin
also gives his
advice by letter.

July 4, 1763.—New Orleans, July 4, 1763: Monsieur: Urgent business matters do not allow me to attend the family meeting to provide for the tutorship and curatorship of the minor children of the late Mr. de Grandpré. I shall be obliged to you, Monsieur, if you will receive by this means my advice, which is that Madame de Grandpré should be the tutrix of

her children and Mr. de la Houssaye should be the under-tutor.

Your very humble and obedient servant. (Signed) : Olivier De Vezin.

Broutin also expresses his views by letter.

July 5, 1763.—Since I am unable at present to repair to the residence of Monsieur Delalande, I beg him to receive my advice, which is that I name Madame Grandpré as tutrix of her children and Monsieur Delahoussaye as under-tutor.

New Orleans, July 5, 1763. (Signed) : Broutin.

The family meeting selects Madame de Grandpré as tutrix and Delahoussaye as under-tutor.

July 5, 1763.—The assembly of the family meeting took place on July 5, 1763, before Mr. Charles Marie de La Lande Dapremont, Councillor Commissioner, and in the presence of the Procureur General of the King, and the following persons were present:

Mr. de La Houssaye, Mr. Livaudais, Mr. de Villiers, Mr. Robin de Logny. Mr. Lesassier, Mr. Olivier Devezin, and Mr. Broutin gave their advice in writing. Mr. Carriere did not appear, nor did he send any written communication. Madame de Grandpré was unable to attend on account of illness.

Mr. de La Houssaye nominated Madame the widow Grandpré as the tutrix of the Grandpré minors; and Sieur Lesassier as under-tutor. Mr. Livaudais nominated Madame the widow Grandpré as tutrix; and Mr. de Lahoussaye as under-tutor. Mr. de Villiers nominated Madame the widow Grandpré as tutrix; and Mr. de Lahoussaye as under-tutor. Mr. Robin de Logny nominated Madame the widow Grandpré as tutrix; and Mr. de Lahoussaye as under-tutor. The opinions sent in writing were read. Whereupon the aforementioned Councillor Commissioner ordered that the said Madame the widow Grandpré be confirmed as tutrix of the said minors, and Mr. de La Houssaye as under-tutor, in accordance with the advice hereinabove expressed; and the deliberations of the family meeting were homologated by the said Councillor Commissioner.

(Signed) : Galar widow Grandpré; Livaudais; Le Chev. Delahoussaye; Le Chev. Coulon de Villiers; Robin de Logny; Lafreniere; Delalande; Garic, Clerk.

July 5.

1 p.

Grandpré succession: Petition of Madame de Grandpré for removal of the seals and inventory of all property of the succession.

Petition to Monsieur D'Abbadie, President of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana:

Madame Therese Gallard, widow of Mr. Grandpré, humbly represents and prays that it may please Your Excellency to order that the seals affixed upon the effects of the Grandpré succession be raised and that an inventory be taken of

all the property, movable and immovable, of said succession, in the presence of the petitioner, in her capacity of tutrix of her minor children, and of Sieur Delahoussaye, under-tutor for said minors, and also in the presence of the relatives and friends of said minors; the said inventory to be taken tomorrow, 6th of the current month, at eight o'clock in the morning. And Your Excellency will do right.

New Orleans, July 5, 1763. (Signed): Widow Grandpré.

Permit granted.

July 5, 1763.—Permit to raise seals and inventory to be taken before Mr. Delalande, Councillor Commissioner, in the presence of the Procureur General of the King and of the under-tutor of the said minors. New Orleans, July 5, 1763. (Signed): Dabbadie.

July 6.

15 pp.

Grandpré succession:
Inventory and
appraisal of all
property of said
succession.

On July 6, 1763, on petition of Madame Therese Gaillard, widow of the late Sieur De Grandpré, in his lifetime Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis and Captain of Infantry, in the presence of Mr. Delahoussaye, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Town-Major of this city, and under-tutor for the Grandpré minors; and in the presence of said Madame widow Grandpré and also of Mr. De la Freniere, Procureur General of the King, representing the absent creditors and all other parties having an interest in said succession, if any there be, and for the preservation of the claims of said parties and creditors; Mr. Charles Marie De la Lande Dapremont, Councillor of the Superior Council, appointed Commissioner in this case, by virtue of the order given on July 5th by Monsieur D'Abbadie, Commissioner General of the Marine, Intendant and First Councillor of said Council, repaired to the residence of the said Madame the widow Grandpré, where Master Garic, Royal Notary, proceeded to take the inventory of all the movable property and personal effects that were found in the residence of the said late Sieur Grandpré and that were produced by the said widow Grandpré, after she declared, under oath, that she had not concealed, removed or taken away anything, and after the seals were found sound and intact;

And Marin Lenormand, Sheriff, acted as appraiser, after he gave assurance that he would act in said capacity according to the best of his ability and conscience.

(Signed): Galar widow Grandpré; Le Chev. Delahoussaye; Lafreniere; Lenormand; Delalande; Garic, Notary.

In the first room upon entering the said residence were found:

A small tray containing five cups and saucers; one teapot and a small jar, the whole of porcelain, and appraised at 35 livres:.....	35	-	-
Item: one chest of drawers without lock, appraised at 120 livres:.....	120	-	-
Item: one gilt-framed mirror, measuring 24 by 18 inches, appraised at 150 livres:.....	150	-	-
Item: two claw-footed checkerboard tables of walnut, and one small sewing table, the whole appraised at 120 livres:.....	120	-	-
Item: one walnut easy-chair with its mattress and pillow, appraised at 150 livres:.....	150	-	-
Item: fifteen mulberry chairs appraised at 100 livres:.....	100	-	-
Item: four portières with their rods, and four window-curtains with their rods, appraised together at 100 livres:.....	100	-	-
Item: one small brass watch-case, one pair of andirons, one fire-shovel, the whole appraised at 40 livres:.....	40	-	-
Item: one double-case gold watch appraised at 500 livres:.....	500	-	-
In the dining-room were found: three small Provence jars appraised together at 120 livres:.....	120	-	-
Item: six chairs, four of which of mulberry, and two of cypress, all rather used, appraised at 20 livres:.....	20	-	-
Item: two walnut folding tables appraised together at 12 livres:.....	12	-	-
Item: In a small cupboard were found: one dozen silver covers, two serving spoons, one soup-ladle, one olive-spoon, nine small coffee-spoons, one plate, one bowl with its lid, two candlesticks: the whole of silver and weighing together twenty-five marcs and three ounces, and appraised at forty-five livres per marc:.....			for memorandum
Item: the aforesaid cupboard of cypress closing with lock and key, appraised at 15 livres:.....	15	-	-
Item: one large chest was opened and in the same were found: five bed-sheets, appraised together at 125 livres:.....	125	-	-
Item: two rather used mosquito-nets, one large and one small, appraised together at 80 livres:.....	80	-	-
Item: twelve diapered napkins and three plain tablecloths, appraised together at 75 livres:.....	75	-	-
Item: six other linen napkins appraised at 25 livres:.....	25	-	-

Item: two trimmed shirts and one night-cap and seven old handkerchiefs, the whole appraised at 50 livres:.....	50	-	-
Item: the said cypress chest with lock and key, appraised at 12 livres:.....	12	-	-
Item: a trunk was opened and within the same were found: two chamber robes, one of calamanco and one of calico, both quite worn out and appraised at 10 livres:.....	10	-	-
Item: the aforesaid trunk in bad condition, without key, and appraised at 10 livres:.....	10	-	-
Item: one walnut corner-piece with lock and key, in good condition, appraised at 35 livres:.....	35	-	-
In a small room were found: two small brass kettles in good condition, appraised at 30 livres:.....	30	-	-
Item: one medium-size Provence jar appraised at 40 livres:.....	40	-	-
Item: thirty-eight Fayence plates appraised at 190 livres:.....	190	-	-
Item: three dozen common Fayence dishes appraised at 30 livres:.....	35	-	-
Item: eighteen dishes of fine Fayence quality appraised at 30 livres:.....	30	-	-
Item: three dozen and a half porcelain dishes and three salad-bowls also of porcelain, the whole appraised at 100 livres:.....	100	-	-
Item: two cut glass decanters and four cut glass dishes, appraised together at 40 livres:.....	40	-	-
Item: four hammered silver candlesticks appraised at 50 livres:.....	50	-	-
Item: two Fayence soup-tureens and four Fayence salad-bowls, appraised together at 40 livres:.....	40	-	-
Item: eighteen drinking glasses and three goblets appraised together at 25 livres:.....	25	-	-
Item: twenty rather used English table-knives appraised at 25 livres:.....	25	-	-
Item: six cut glass salt-cellars appraised at 30 livres:.....	30	-	-
Item: six flatirons appraised at 50 livres:.....	50	-	-
Item: one small cellaret with six empty flasks, and one small four-legged cypress table, appraised together at 20 livres:.....	20	-	-
Item: another cellaret furnished with twelve flasks of olive oil appraised at 80 livres:.....	80	-	-
Item: one Fayence bowl with its lid appraised at 10 livres:.....	10	-	-
Item: a small cypress cupboard without lock appraised at 15 livres:.....	15	-	-

In the next room were found:

First: in an armoire: six pairs of sheets appraised together at 360 livres:.....	360	-
Item: twelve tablecloths of different sizes and seven dozen diapered and damask napkins, all almost new, and appraised together at 1000 livres:....	1000	-
Item: two linen tablecloths appraised at 20 livres:.....	20	-
Item: the said double-door mahogany armoire, closing with lock and key, which was left to afore-said Madame the widow Grandpré for her own use:.....		for memorandum
Item: in another cypress armoire, which was opened, were found: thirty-two men's trimmed shirts and two night-shirts, the whole appraised at 1360 livres:.....	1360	-
Item: one gold cuff button appraised at 60 livres:.....	60	-
Item: three blankets of fine wool, two large and one small, and two and a half ells of Brin linen, the whole appraised at 200 livres:.....	200	-
Item: thirty-six cotton handkerchiefs of different colors appraised at 100 livres:.....	100	-
Item: seventeen pairs of silk, linen and cotton stockings, all rather used, and two pairs of linen gaiters, the whole appraised at 140 livres:.....	140	-
Item: twenty-two collars, quite worn, and ten cotton and linen caps, appraised together at 45 livres:.....	45	-
Item: two hats, one new and one quite worn, appraised at 60 livres:.....	60	-
Item: one military uniform, one gold laced coat and one pair of breeches, all quite worn, and appraised together at 100 livres:.....	100	-
Item: one black cloth suit, rather used, appraised at 60 livres:.....	60	-
Item: a black velvet suit composed of coat and breeches, the coat being adorned with point d'Espagne lace, appraised at 150 livres:.....	150	-
Item: a scarlet military uniform composed of coat, waistcoat and breeches, the coat trimmed with gold Brantbourg and the waistcoat trimmed with white lace, the whole a little used, and appraised at 180 livres:.....	180	-
Item: one blue cloth suit with gold buttons and a gold embroidered waistcoat, the whole quite used, and appraised at 100 livres:.....	100	-
Item: one military uniform with embroidered waistcoat, a little used, appraised at 100 livres:.....	100	-

Item: one gray taffeta suit with two pairs of breeches also of gray taffeta, and one seersucker coat with button trimmings, the whole appraised at 70 livres:.....	70 -	-
Item: two pairs of scarlet breeches, rather used, appraised at 20 livres:.....	20 -	-
Item: five pairs of seersucker spats, all quite used, and appraised at 100 livres:.....	100 -	-
Item: one taffeta robe, one large gingham coat, one cloth riding-coat, four fustian jackets, all rather used, and appraised together at 60 livres:.....	60 -	-
Item: twelve ells of polonaise material appraised at 72 livres:.....	72 -	-
Item: two ells of white linen appraised at 140 livres:.....	140 -	-
Item: the aforesaid double-door cypress armoire, with lock and key, appraised at 70 livres:....	70 -	-

At midday the inventory was suspended.

(Signed) : Galar widow Grandpré; Delalande; Le Ch'r De Lahoussaye; Lafreniere; Lenormand; Garic, Notary.

On the aforesaid day, month and year at three o'clock in the afternoon the said inventory was taken up again as follows:

First: one wild cherry writing-desk with lock and key, appraised at 80 livres:.....	80 -	-
Item: five cups and saucers, two teapots and one Fayence sugar-bowl, the whole more or less damaged, and appraised at 10 livres:.....	10 -	-
Item: one small mirror with wooden frame, and a portrait of the deceased with a gilt frame; only the mirror was appraised at 20 livres:.....	20 -	-
Item: two polonaise curtains with their rods, appraised at 50 livres:.....	50 -	-
Item: four mulberry chairs appraised at 30 livres:.....	30 -	-
Item: one small wild cherry table appraised at 5 livres:.....	5 -	-
Item: one complete bed, composed of a walnut bedstead, one straw mattress, one featherbed, one woolen mattress, one bolster, one pair of sheets, one woolen blanket, one calico quilt, one hollandine mosquito-net, calico bed curtains with their rod: left to said Madame the widow Grandpré for her own use:.....for memorandum		

Item: another complete bed, composed of cypress bedstead, two woolen mattresses, one feather-bed, one bolster, one cotton blanket, one woolen blanket, one hollandine mosquito-net, polonaise bed curtains and calico canopy: the whole appraised at 500 livres:.....	500	-	-
Item: in another small room were found: one cypress bedstead, one hair mattress, one feather-bed, one bolster, one cotton blanket, silk and cotton curtains: left for the use of the minors:.....for memorandum			
Item: one walnut table in bad condition, with its drawer, appraised at 5 livres:.....	5	-	-
Item: four volumes of books of different kinds appraised at 60 livres:.....	60	-	-
Item: one gun and one powder-horn appraised at 30 livres:.....	30	-	-
Item: four pounds of Spanish tobacco appraised at 30 livres:.....	30	-	-
In another small room were found: one walnut bed in bad condition, and three mattresses of moss and wool, in bad condition, and one bolster: the whole appraised at 60 livres:.....	60	-	-
Item: three mulberry chairs, appraised at 22 livres and 10 sols:.....	22-10	-	-
In a small outhouse, used as a cellar, was found one hogshead of wine, appraised at 400 livres:.....	400	-	-
Item: one hundred and fifty empty bottles, one small salting jar, one stone sink, three medium-sized kettles: the whole appraised at 200 livres:....	200	-	-
Item: in the kitchen were found: one pair of andirons, one fire-shovel, and one pair of tongs, appraised together at 40 livres:.....	40	-	-
Item: one fish-kettle, appraised at 20 livres:....	20	-	-
Item: nine iron kettles, some large and some small, appraised together at 120 livres:.....	120	-	-
Item: three frying-pans, one gridiron, one chafing-dish, appraised at 50 livres:.....	50	-	-
Item: one tart-dish, one soup-ladle, and two saucepans, appraised together at 40 livres:.....	40	-	-
Item: two skewers, one chopper and one tin coffeepot appraised at 25 livres:.....	25	-	-
Item: three pails, two iron-hooped washtubs, appraised at 70 livres:.....	70	-	-
Item: two watering-pots, one of tin and the other of copper, the latter in bad condition, appraised together at 35 livres:.....	35	-	-
Item: one hatchet in bad condition, one pickax, one rake, and two kitchen tables in bad condition: the whole appraised at 30 livres:.....	30	-	-

DEEDS, TITLES AND DOCUMENTS:

First: one Commission of Second Ensign dated May 16, 1731, countersigned Phelipeaux; marked:.. "A"

Item: one Commission of Ensign in active service, dated August 18, 1732; marked:..... "B"

Item: Commission of Lieutenant, dated October 16, 1736; marked:..... "C"

Item: Commission of Captain, dated October 1, 1741; marked:..... "D"

Item: Diploma of appointment as Knight of St. Louis, dated February 1, 1754; marked:..... "E"

Item: Commission of Major issued to the father of said deceased, dated May 16, 1698; marked:..... "F"

Item: one copy of Marriage Contract between the said deceased and Madame the widow Grandpré, dated May 10, 1734; marked:..... "G"

Item: a Statement of Sieur La Grange setting forth that there is due to the succession of the late Sieur de Grandpré by the succession of the late Sieur Dublanc the sum of 4550 livres, of which amount the said Madame the widow Grandpré declared that there was due only the sum of 2000 livres; marked:..... "H"

Item: a copy of an order dated April 3, 1756, of the Superior Council of this province directing that the said Sieur de Grandpré be recognized as a creditor of the Dublanc succession for the sum of 2350 livres; marked:..... "I"

Item: a promissory note of Sieur Dublanc for the sum of 2350 livres in favor of Sieur Grandpré, in reference to which note the aforesaid order of the Superior Council was rendered; marked:..... "K"

Bills of Exchange due the Succession:

First: bill of exchange dated December 11, 1760, for the sum of 20,000 livres, accepted by Mr. Dauterive, in behalf of the said Sieur de Grandpré, payable in La Rochelle, France; marked:..... "L"

Item: an assignment of Sieur Dauterive, in favor of said late Sieur De Grandpré, in the sum of 10,000 livres, due to said Sieur Dauterive by Mr. Marquis, Lieutenant of the Swiss troops, which assignment was made by Sr. Dauterive to Sr. De Grandpré, on account of the aforesaid obligation of 20,000 livres; the said assignment was executed beneath the bill of exchange referred to herein-above on July 27, 1762; marked:..... "M"

Item: an act of sale by Mr. Dauterive to Mr. Marquis of a plantation situated three leagues from this city on this side of the River, for the sum of 10,000 livres in letters of exchange; marked:..... "M"*

*(Note: The two preceding documents are both marked "M".)

Item: an obligation dated June 17, 1760, of Messrs. De Reggio and Fleuriau, conjointly, in favor of said Sieur De Grandpré, for the sum of 40,000 livres payable in La Rochelle, France, in gold or silver currency, accepted as legal tender in France; marked:..... "N"

Item: a draft of said Sieur Dauterive on Sieur Maxent, merchant, in favor of said Sieur De Grandpré, for the sum of 30,800 livres, said draft having been accepted by Sieur Maxent and being dated July 29, 1762; marked:..... "O"

Item: the said Madame the widow De Grandpré declared that there should have been in the hands of Sieur Robin de Laugny 948 pounds of indigo, contained in three barrels, belonging to the succession of the late Sr. De Grandpré;

Madame the widow Grandpré also stated that the late Sr. Grandpré had received the sum of 15,000 livres, on account of the aforesaid draft of Sieur Dauterive upon Sieur Maxent;

Item: the said widow Grandpré declared that she had a deposit of 1689 livres accruing from the succession of the late Claude Gorifier called Desloriers, a soldier in the company of the late Sieur De Grandpré;

Item: the inventory of the succession of said late Gorifier called Desloriers, and the procès-verbal of the judicial sale of the effects of said succession, showing the proceeds in the sum of 1689 livres, for which sum the widow De Grandpré will account to whom it may concern; marked:..... "P"

GOLD, SILVER AND MONEY:

First: the sum of 1200 livres represented by four colonial notes:..... 1200 - -

Item: a letter of exchange for the sum of 324 livres and 10 sols, for officers' salary and lodgment, drawn upon Mr. Bosdare de Veau Dezir, General Treasurer, dated April 1, 1763:..... for memorandum

Item: in a purse were found the following gold or silver coins: two Cadrupes in gold, and a half Cadrupe in gold, currency of Spain; seven Piastres Gourdes, also Spanish currency; and two Louis d'or, French currency: the whole representing the sum of 283 livres:..... 283 - -

Item: a small ring with an amethyst, mounted in gold, appraised at 80 livres:..... 80 - -

Item: a tortoise-shell snuff-box with silver trimmings, appraised at 30 livres:..... 30 - -

Item: one pair of shoe-buckles, one garter-buckle, one collar-button, one pair of cuff-buttons and one snuff-box: all of gold and weighing together seven ounces and five gros and a half:....for memorandum

Item: some burnt silver weighing two marcs, three ounces and five gros and a half, appraised at 160 livres:..... 160 - -

ASSETS:

Madame the widow De Grandpré declared that there was due to the said succession by Mr. De Chavoye a sum of about 6000 livres:.....for memorandum

And stated also that the community between her and her deceased husband is not indebted to the said succession.

Slaves:

First: a negress named Gotton, about thirty years old, appraised at 3000 livres:..... 3000 - -

Item: another negress named Venus, twenty years old, and her child named Hugain, ten months old, appraised together at 3500 livres:..... 3500 - -

Item: another negress named Margueritte, eighteen years old, appraised at 2500 livres:..... 2500 - -

And the foregoing represent all the assets of the said succession and they were entrusted in the care of said Madame the widow De Grandpré, who took charge of same and promised to produce them whenever ordered so to do by the Court; the whole to be preserved in behalf of whom it may concern.

(Signed): Galar widow Grandpré; Delalande; Le Ch'r De Lahoussaye; Lafreniere; Lenormand; Garic, Notary.

Closure of the inventory.

July 8, 1763.—On July 8, 1763, at four o'clock in the afternoon, before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, personally appeared Madame Thereze Gallard, widow of the late Mr. De Grandpré, in his lifetime Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Captain of

a company of infantry garrisoned in this colony, and declared, under oath, that she had no knowledge of any other property of the Grandpré succession and community between her and her late husband, besides that which is set down in the foregoing inventory. On her request, copy of the present declaration was granted to her, and the said inventory was closed. The said appearer signed together with the aforesaid Notary. (Signatures are missing.)

The document is well preserved and the writing very clear.

July 3.

22 pp.

Assassination of Fleury: Inquest held by Delalande, appointed Commissioner in the case, in reference to the violent death of said Fleury; seals affixed on effects of the deceased, in the presence of Ducros, Attorney for Vacant Estates.

Upon the Request of the Procureur General of the King, on July 3, 1763, at nine o'clock P. M., Monsieur Charles Marie De la Lande Dapremont, Councillor of the Superior Council, appointed Commissioner in this case, accompanied by the Clerk of said Council, and by Sieur Gardrat, Surgeon Major of this city, went to the residence of Sieur St. Laurent Bailly, where had been taken the body of a man killed near the property of Sieur Cantrelle. And upon entering the house from the front gallery the said Councillor Com-

missioner found a corpse in a small room and was told that it was Sieur Fleury's body; whereupon he directed the Surgeon Major to proceed to the examination of said corpse; and the Surgeon Major, having performed the said examination, declared that Fleury's death had been caused by a sword thrust.

Then the said Councillor Commissioner questioned said Sieur Laurent Bailly and his wife about the case and they answered that they were completely ignorant of the cause of Fleury's death and of the person who was responsible, adding that Sieur Fleury was brought there dead, it having been his residence, but they had not observed the persons who had brought the body there.

Sieur Blanchard, a friend of the deceased, was also questioned in the matter, with a likewise negative result. The deceased's pockets were searched and were found empty. Then seals were affixed to the door and window of said room, and a guard was placed at the house, in the presence of Sieur Ducros, Attorney for Vacant Estates, and of said Sr. Laurent Bailly, who declared that he could neither write nor sign.

(Signed): Delalande; Ducros; Garic, Clerk.

Report of the inquest on the body of Fleury by Surgeon Major Gardrat.

July 4, 1763.—The Undersigned Surgeon Major, by virtue of the order of Monsieur Dabbadie, Commissioner General of the Marine and Intendant of this province, went last night, at six o'clock, to the resi-

dence of Lauran (Laurent Bailly), master tailor, to examine the

dead body of a man lying on a bed, and discovered a wound on the right side half an inch above the nipple, which would have been caused by a pointed instrument in the form of a triangular sword, which penetrated deep into the breast between the third and fourth ribs, produced a great effusion of blood, and was the sole cause of the death of the man.

New Orleans, July 4, 1763. (Signed): Gardrat.

Petition by the
Procureur General
for an order
directing an
investigation of
Fleury's death.

July 4, 1763—Petition to Monsieur Dabbadie, President of the Superior Council of Louisiana:

The Procureur General of the Council, having taken cognizance of the procès-verbal of the 3rd instant of Mr. de Lalande, Councillor Commissioner in this case, and of the report of Sieur Gardrat, Surgeon Major, who examined the corpse of Sieur Fleury, requests that an investigation of the matter be ordered and that all information obtained be communicated to the Procureur General of the King; and that, owing to the hot weather, the burial of said corpse be allowed, in the presence of the Attorney for Vacant Estates.

New Orleans, July 4, 1763. (Signed): Lafreniere.

Petition granted.

July 4, 1763.—Considering the foregoing petition, We order that the investigation be made before Monsieur De la Lande, appointed Commissioner on this case; that a report of all information be transmitted to the Procureur General; that seals be affixed according to the usual form; and that the corpse be buried.

New Orleans, July 4, 1763. (Signed): Dabbadie.

Witnesses summoned
for the investigation
of Fleury's death.

July 4, 1763.—On July 4, 1763, by virtue of the order of even date of Monsieur de La Badie (D'Abbadie), Commissioner of the Marine and Intendant, and on petition of the Procureur General of the King, notice was served by the Sheriff of the Council upon the following persons, to-wit: Sieur Laurent Bailly, master tailor, residing in this city; Sieur Cantrel, residing in this city; Sieur Blanchard, residing in this city; Sieur Verret, residing in this city: to appear this day, at five o'clock in the afternoon, before Mr. de la Lande, Councillor Commissioner in the case, in his office, to furnish information as requested by the said Procureur General of the King. (Signed): Lenormand.

Depositions of the
witnesses called in
the investigation.

July 4, 1763.—Information obtained on July 4, 1763, by Mr. Charles Marie de La Lande Dapremont, Councillor Commissioner on this case, assisted by the Clerk, on request of the Procureur General of the King, against the parties who caused the death of Sieur Fleury:

Testimony of
Jacques Cantrelle.

Sieur Jacques Cantrelle, Churchward-
en, having taken an oath, answered as
follows:

Having been questioned whether he was a relative, friend or related by marriage to said Sr. Fleury, he answered that he was not a relative, friend, nor related by marriage to the late Fleury.

Having been asked if he had any knowledge of the murder committed on his property, he said that about seven o'clock in the evening he learned by public rumor that a murdered man was in his garden; that he went there immediately and saw more than one hundred persons around the dead body; that he did not know who had committed the murder; that he left the place at once to report the matter to Monsieur de La Lande; and this was all that he had to say.

His answers having been read to him, and he having been asked if they were true, and if he wished to add thereto, or to retract, or to correct same, he replied that they were correct, and that he had nothing to add to, to retract or to correct.

Having been asked if he claimed his fee and if he knew how to sign, he answered that he waived the fee and that he could write and sign.

(Signed): Cantrelle; Delalande; ⁷Garic, Clerk.

Testimony of
Antoine de Blanchard.

Sieur Antoine de Blanchard, former
Captain of the colonial troops, having
taken an oath, stated that he was not a
friend or relative of the late Sieur Fleury, nor was he related
by marriage to him.

Having been asked if he had any knowledge of the murder perpetrated on the person of Sieur Fleury, he replied that he knew nothing of the matter; that last night, at about seven o'clock, seeing many people running towards the residence of Laurens Bailly, he also went there, and was told that Sieur Fleury had just been thrust by a sword, and that he was lying upon his bed in a small room, which he entered, and that he saw Sieur Fleury breathe his last; and that this was all he knew about the case.

He stated that he had nothing to add to, to retract or to correct in his answers. He waived the fee and signed.

(Signed): De Blanchard; Delalande; Garic, Clerk.

Testimony of
Laurent Bailly.

Sieur Laurent Bailly, having been sworn
in, declared that he was not a friend or a
relative of Sieur Fleury, nor related by
marriage to him.

Asked if he knew anything about the assassination of Sieur Fleury, if he knew who was the murderer, if he knew the per-

sons who carried Sieur Fleury to his residence, Sieur Laurent Bailly stated that he had no knowledge whatsoever of the murder; that last night, at about half past eight, he was surprised to see a crowd of people on his gallery, and still more surprised was he to see Sieur Fleury lying on his bed; and that his astonishment prevented him from observing and noticing those who had brought Sr. Fleury there; that he did not know anything about the murderer, and did not hear anything about him; and this was all he could say; that his statement represented the truth, that he had nothing to add, retract, or correct; and that he did not know how to sign. He waived his claim to the fee.

(Signed) : Delalande; Garic, Clerk.

Testimony of
Nicolas Verret.

Sieur Nicolas Verret, having taken an oath, said that he was not a relative or a friend of the late Sieur Fleury, nor related to him by marriage.

Questioned about his knowledge of Fleury's assassination, he answered that last evening, arriving in town from his plantation, at about five o'clock P. M., he remained half an hour in the company of Sieur Fleury, who did not mention anything about his affairs; that fifteen minutes, or so, after he left Sieur Fleury, he was surprised to hear that Fleury had been killed on the property of Sieur Cantrelle; that he ran to the place, following many other people, negroes, Indians, whites; that he saw Sieur Fleury dead and left without knowing who had brought him to the residence of Sieur Bailly; that he did not know of any dispute, bickering or litigation of Sieur Fleury with anybody; that he had always known Sieur Fleury as a very peaceful and quiet man; that he did not hear anything about the murderer; and that this was all he could say, to which he had nothing to add, and from which he had nothing to retract, and to which he had no correction to make. He declared that he could write and sign, and he waived his fee.

(Signed) : Delalande; Verret; Garic, Clerk.

Report of the
investigation
communicated to
Procureur General.

July 4, 1763.—We, Councillor Commissioner in this case, do hereby order that the present information be transmitted to Monsieur the Procureur General of the King. New Orleans, July 4, 1763. (Signed) : Delalande; Garic, Clerk.

Procureur General
requests further
information.

July 7, 1763.—Having read the foregoing depositions, I do request additional information, in the King's name. New Orleans, July 7, 1763. (Signed) : Lafreniere.

Petition by the
Attorney for
Vacant Estates
for raising the
seals and taking
an inventory of
the effects of
Fleury.

July 4, 1763.—Petition to Monsieur Dabbadie, Commissioner General of the Marine, First Judge of the Superior Council of Louisiana, Intendant of said province:

Joseph Ducros, Attorney for Vacant Estates in this colony, humbly represents and prays: That he learned that Sieur Fleury, clerk, died accidentally last night, intestate, without leaving any heirs in this colony; that he was present when seals were affixed upon the door and window of the room where the corpse of said deceased was lying; and asks that it may please Your Excellency to allow him to assist at the raising of said seals, and to order that an inventory be taken of all the personal effects of the said deceased, before the Councillor that it will please Your Excellency to appoint Commissioner on this case, and in the presence of the Procureur General of the King. And right will be done.

New Orleans, July 4, 1763. (Signed): Ducros.

Petition granted.

July 4, 1763.—Permit to raise seals, according to the usual form, before Monsieur De la Lande, Councillor Commissioner in this case, and in the presence of the Procureur General of the King, and of the Attorney for Vacant Estates, who shall be duly invited to assist both at the raising of seals and in taking the inventory.

New Orleans, July 4, 1763. (Signed): Dabbadie.

Documents pinned
to the foregoing
document.

To the foregoing document are pinned the following documents, to-wit:

(a) March 25, 1763: Mr. Fleury owes to St. Jean, shoemaker, for a pair of shoes, 40 livres. (Written on a small piece of paper, and numbered.)

(b) July 4, 1763: Mr. Fleury owes to Caminada on his promissory note of June 6th last the sum of sixty-five livres. Certified as true on this July 4, 1763: (Signed): Caminade. (Written on a small piece of paper, and numbered.)

(c) Good for one piastre and a half in paper money. June 10, 1763. (Signed): Fleury. (Written on a very small piece of paper, and numbered.)

(d) Statement of what Monsieur Fleury owes me, to-wit: For renting one room from April 10th to July 4, 1763, that is for four months' rental, the first two months at 60 livres, and the last two months at 40 livres, per month, making a total of one hundred and forty livres:.....

140 - -

For making a waistcoat and a pair of breeches last April, sixty livres:.....

60 - -

For making a complete silk suit, one hundred and twenty-two livres and ten sols:.....

122-10 -

Total:..... 322-10 -

I certify to the accuracy and truth of the present statement amounting to the sum of three hundred and twenty-two livres and ten sols. New Orleans, July 4, 1763. (Signed): Laurant Bay (Laurent Bailly).

Inventory of the
personal effects
of Fleury.

July 4, 1763.—The Inventory of the personal effects of the late Sieur Fleury was taken on July 4, 1763, at ten o'clock in the morning, before Monsieur De la Lande, Councillor Commissioner, accompanied by the Clerk and the Sheriff of the Superior Council, and in the presence of the Procureur General of the King and of the Attorney for Vacant Estates. The said effects were pointed out by Laurent Bailly, who stated, under oath, that nothing had been concealed or removed by him.

(Signed): Ducros; Delalande; Lenormand; Garlic, Notary.

Judicial sale of
the personal
effects of Fleury.

August 1, 1763.—The Judicial sale of the personal effects of the late Sieur Fleury was held on August 1, 1763, at nine o'clock in the morning, upon petition of the Procureur General of the King, before Mr. Louis Piot Delaunay, Councillor of the Superior Council, appointed Commissioner on this case, and in the presence of the aforesaid Procureur General and of the Attorney for Vacant Estates, in compliance with the usual formalities; and the total proceeds amounted to the sum of four hundred and fifty-five livres, which sum was remitted to Mr. Ducros, in his capacity of Attorney for Vacant Estates, who shall account for same to whom it may concern.

New Orleans, August 1, 1763. (Signed): Delaunay; Lafreniere; Ducros.

July 6.

3 pp.

Petition by
Madame widow
Robineau Portneuf
vs. De Villars, as
tutor of Miss de
Portneuf, for
recovery of funds
which petitioner
claims had been
unlawfully turned
over to said minor.

Petition to Monsieur Dabbadie, Commissioner General, Intendant of the Province of Louisiana and President of the Superior Council:

Madame Magdeleine Barrois, widow by first marriage of the late Sieur Marin, and widow by second marriage of the late Sieur Nicolas Robineau de Port Neuf, Lieutenant of Infantry, humbly prays and represents that her property is in Illinois and after the death of Sieur de Port Neuf an inventory of petitioner's property was taken; that the said inventory shows that a great deal of her property was missing, including negroes and cattle, which were sold during the community between the petitioner and her second husband, Sieur de Port Neuf, who, during his lifetime, disposed of said missing property to the extent of more than

15,000 livres, as it is proven by the inventory taken after the death of *Sieur Marin*, petitioner's first husband; that petitioner has pressed her claims in Illinois, in accordance with her marriage contract, but to no avail.

Wherefore she was compelled to come down to this city to appeal to Your Excellency for justice; and she prays that it may please Your Excellency to allow her to summon before the Superior Council, at its first session, *Mr. De Villars*, officer of the Militia, in his capacity of tutor of *Demoiselle de Port Neuf*, as he received, for account of the said minor, much more than she was entitled to. And right will be done.

New Orleans, July 6, 1763. (Signed): *Widow Porneuf*.

Permit granted.

July 6, 1763.—Permit to summon at the first session of the Council. New Orleans, July 6, 1763. (Signed): *Dabbadie*.

Citation served.

July 7, 1763.—Citation served by the Sheriff of the Superior Council on *Mr. Villars du Breuil*, Captain of the Militia, in his capacity of tutor of *Demoiselle de Portneuf*, residing in this city, to appear before the Council next Saturday, at eight o'clock in the morning. (Signed): *Lenormand*.

July 6.

4 pp.

Petition by *Joseph Ducros*, Attorney for Vacant Estates, for permit to take an inventory of the personal effects of *Martin Ripars*, a sailor, who died intestate in New Orleans.

Petition to *Monsieur Dabbadie*, Councillor of the King in the King's Councils, Commissioner of the Marine, Intendant of Louisiana:

Joseph Ducros, Attorney for Vacant Estates, humbly prays and represents that he was informed that one *Martin Ripars*, sailor, a native of *Sauvun*, in the state of *Genoa*, died yesterday, intestate, in this city. And he prays that it may please

Your Excellency to allow him to take an inventory of the deceased's personal effects, should there be any of value; and, if no effects are found, to draw up a procès-verbal to such effect, before the Commissioner that it will please Your Excellency to appoint, and in the presence of the Procureur General of the King. And right will be done.

New Orleans, July 6, 1763. (Signed): *Ducros*.

Permit granted.

July 7, 1763.—We Order that inventory be taken or procès-verbal drafted as requested in the foregoing petition, before *Mr. Lesassier*, whom we appoint Commissioner on this case, and in the presence of the Procureur General of the King.

New Orleans, July 7, 1763. (Signed): *Dabbadie*.

Effects of the
Martin Rissarce
(Ripars) succession
abandoned, as their
value was not
enough to meet
board and burial
expenses. Procès-
verbal drafted to
that effect.

July 7, 1763.—On July 7, 1763, at eight o'clock in the morning, on petition of Sieur Joseph Ducros, Attorney for Vacant Estates, and by virtue of the order of Mr. Dabbadie, First Councillor of the Superior Council, Monsieur Charles Le Sassier, Councillor Assessor of said Council, Commissioner appointed on this case, accompanied by the Clerk, repaired to the residence of Sieur Bardon, pulley-maker of the King, for the purpose of taking an inventory of the personal effects of one Martin Rissarce (Ripars), sailor, who died yesterday at the said residence; and the said Sr. Bardon, who stated under oath that nothing had been concealed or removed of the deceased's property, produced two shirts in bad condition, two pairs of large breeches in bad condition, and two waistcoats without sleeves, and one small mattress, also in bad condition, these representing all the belongings of the said late Martin Ripars, according to the statement made by said Sr. Bardon, who declared furthermore that the value of said effects was insufficient to meet the expense due him for board and for burial of the defunct. Whereupon the aforesaid Councillor Commissioner and the said Sr. Ducros, in his capacity of Attorney for Vacant Estates, concluded to abandon the said effects and to draft the present procès-verbal to be used in case of need.

(Signed): Bardon; Ducros; Lesassier; Garlic, Notary.

July 8.

24 pp.

Milhet succession:
Petition by
Magdeleine Robin,
widow of Claude
Tourangin, tutor
for the Milhet
minors, for order
to render account
of tutorship, and
for a family
meeting to select
a tutor for Jean
Baptiste Milhet.

Petition to Their Excellencies of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana:

Magdeleine Robin, widow of the late Claude Tourangin called La Couture, humbly prays and represents that her aforementioned husband, after the death of Sieur Louis Wiltz, was appointed tutor for the minor children of the late Sieur Milhet, in his lifetime manager of the plantation of the King; that at present, following her husband's death, petitioner finds herself with a large family to provide for, and is unable to attend to the administration of the property belonging to the said Milhet minors.

Wherefore petitioner prays that it may please Your Excellencies to order petitioner to render her account, which she will settle within the term of three months; and to order also that a family meeting of relatives and friends be convened for the purpose of selecting a tutor for Jean Baptiste Milhet, who is still a minor, the said relatives and friends to meet in the presence of the Procureur General of the King. And Your Excellencies will do right.

New Orleans, July 8, 1763. (Signed): Widow Tourangin.

Procureur General requests that a family meeting be ordered, before a Commissioner, to select a tutor and under-tutor for Milhet minors, so that Widow Tourangin may be enabled to render her account.

August 6, 1763.—I Request, in the King's name, that the relatives, and in their default, the friends of the late Milhet, be convened before the Commissioner that it will please Your Excellencies to designate, and in the presence of the Procureur General of the King, to select a tutor and an under-tutor for the Milhet

minors, for whom the late Claude Tourangin called La Couture had been formerly appointed tutor, so that the new tutor may receive the tutorship account from Madame the widow Robin.

New Orleans, August 6, 1763. (Signed): Lafreniere.

Relatives and friends summoned for the family meeting.

August 9, 1763.—On August 9, 1763, in the afternoon, by virtue of the order of the 6th instant of the Superior Council, and upon petition of Madame the widow

La Couture, residing in this city, Marin Pierre Bary, Sheriff of the Council, served notice on the following relatives and friends of the Milhet minors:

Sieur Joseph Burat, brother-in-law of said minors; Sieur Nicolas, gunsmith, friend of said minors; Sieur St. Eloy, locksmith, friend of said minors; Sieur Meilleur, shoemaker, friend of said minors; Sieur Timballier, a resident of this city, friend of said minors; Sieur André Gereau, shoemaker, friend of said minors; Sieur Hely, merchant, friend of said minors; Sieur Drouet called Langevin, a resident of this city, friend of said minors: to appear tomorrow, 10th of the present month, at six o'clock in the morning, in the Registry of the Council, before Monsieur Delaunay, Councillor Commissioner in this case, and in the presence of the Procureur General of the King, to express their advice and to select a tutor and an under-tutor for the Milhet minors.

Copy of the present summons was delivered to each of the persons hereinabove mentioned, so that they might not claim ignorance. (Signed): Bary.

Family meeting selects Joseph Burat as tutor, and Gille Hely as under-tutor for the Milhet minor.

August 10, 1763.—On August 10, 1763, at six o'clock in the morning, before Mr. Louis Piot Delaunay, Councillor of the Superior Council, appointed Commissioner in this case, appeared Madame Magdeleine Robin, widow of the late Claude

Tourangin called La Couture, former tutor of the Milhet minors, which appearer declared that by virtue of the order given beneath her petition by Mr. Dabbadie on the 6th instant, she had caused the summoning, by the Sheriff of the Council, and on this day and hour, of the relatives and friends of the Milhet minor, for the purpose of selecting a tutor and an under-tutor,

which relatives and friends are: Sieur Joseph Burat, brother-in-law of said minor; and Sieurs St. Eloy, Meilleur, Timballier, André Gereaud, Hely, Jacques Nicolas, and Drouet called Langevin, all friends, for want of relatives, of the said minor, all residents of this city, who appeared and, having promised, under oath, to sincerely express their advice on the subject matter, in the presence of the Procureur General of the King, signified their mind as follows, namely:

The said Madame Magdeleine widow La Couture stated that she left the matter to the relatives and friends and to the Court's discretion; and the abovementioned appearers unanimously selected Sieur Joseph Burat, brother-in-law of said minor, as tutor, and Sieur Gille Hely as under-tutor; and both promised to fulfill the duties of their trust.

(Signed): Widow Tourangin; Saint Eloy; Nicolas; André Giraut; Drouet.

Hely, Joseph Burat and Meilleur declared that they could neither write nor sign.

Homologation of
deliberations of
family meeting.

Whereupon the hereinabove mentioned and undersigned Councillor Commissioner, with the consent of the said Procureur General of the King, ordered that the said Sieur Joseph Burat be tutor, and the said Sieur Gille Hely be under-tutor of the Milhet minor, in conformity with the selection of the family meeting, the deliberations of which are hereby homologated. The said tutor and under-tutor promised to discharge their duties, each one in his own capacity, and took an oath to that effect.

Given in the Registry on said day, month and year.
(Signed): Delaunay.

Having learned
of the death of
Jacques Milhet,
the Procureur
General requests
appointment of a
Commissioner to
affix seals on
the property of
the succession
and to make an
inventory of same.
(The present and
succeeding documents
concerning the
succession of
Jacques Milhet are
in the same folder
with the documents
presented under
date of July 8th.)

September 30, 1763.—Petition to Monsieur Dabbadie, Commissioner General of the Marine and First Judge of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana:

The Procureur General of the King represents that he just learned of the death of Sieur Jacques, who departed this life at the residence of Sieur Olivier; and since the deceased left a widow, who is absent, petitioner requests, in the King's name, that it may please Your Excellency to appoint a Commissioner, who, in the presence of the petitioner's Deputy, and of the Attorney for Vacant Estates, will affix seals on the effects of the deceased and subsequently take an inventory of same.

New Orleans, September 30, 1763. (Signed): Lafreniere.

Petition granted.

September 30, 1763.—Let Seals be affixed, as prayed for, before Mr. Delaunay, appointed Commissioner on this case, and in the presence of the acting Procureur General and of the Attorney for Vacant Estates, representing the absent heirs of the defunct; and let an inventory be taken of all the property of said deceased.

New Orleans, September 30, 1763. (Signed): Dabbadie.

Affixing of seals
and inventory.

September 30, 1763.—On September 30, 1763, at three o'clock in the afternoon, on petition of Monsieur Lafreniere, Procureur General of the King, and by virtue of the order of Monsieur Dabbadie, Commissioner General of the Marine and Intendant of this province, Monsieur Louis Piot Delaunay, Councillor of the Superior Council, appointed Commissioner on this case, together with Mr. De la Place, acting Procureur General, Sieur Ducros, Attorney for Vacant Estates, the Royal Notary and the Sheriff of the Council, went to the residence of Sieur Antoine Olivier, situated on Bourbon Street in this city, where Sieur Jacques Milhet died, for the purpose of affixing seals on the deceased's belongings, and found there Madame Jeanne Poitier, the defunct's widow, who stated under oath that no property belonging to the succession had been taken away or concealed, and stated furthermore, and her statement was corroborated by Sieur Olivier, that she and her late husband had no property in this city, her husband having come here only for the purpose of treatment for his health, and that they lived on their plantation on the shore of Lake Pontchartrain, about nine leagues from this city, where is to be found all the property that they possessed in community, according to their marriage contract, which stipulated a mutual donation one to another, in behalf of the survivor, of all their community property, although she did not know whether the said donation had been recorded in the Registry; that in case no registration had been made, the law grants a four months' term to provide for same; but, since the said marriage contract was up in Illinois, and the aforesaid period of time does not appear sufficient to have the said document brought to this city, the said Madame the widow Milhet asked for a document certifying to her request for a temporary registration, until she might be able to produce her marriage contract, and her request was granted by the aforementioned Councilor Commissioner, with the consent of the acting Procureur General.

After which the said Madame the widow Milhet declared that she had a property on the other side of Lake Pontchartrain, now a dependency of the English government, which property consisted of a small cabin covered with canes and enclosed with posts; and in the said cabin were to be found:

One bottom of a cypress armoire, one cypress table, five stuffed chairs of white wood;

Item: four iron kettles, six earthen dishes, and four milk basins;

Item: two pairs of sheets, six napkins, three small table-cloths, all of linen and rather used;

Item: twelve men's shirts, all plain, some in good condition and some in bad condition; one waistcoat in bad condition, two coats, and two pairs of breeches in bad condition;

Item: a negro, named Jean, 52 years old;

Item: another negro, named Cupidon, of the Congo nation, 25 years of age;

Item: a negress, named Roze, 20 years old, with two children: one named Alexis, 5 years old, and the other named Jeanne, 18 months old; the said negress being subject to epileptic fits;

Item: twenty-six horned cattle, some small and some large, for part of which she declared she was indebted;

Item: eight hogs, some large and some small;

Item: one cypress bedstead, one featherbed, one moss mattress, one mosquito-net;

Item: the said Madame the widow Milhet stated furthermore:

That there was due to Sieur Olivier, for treatment and nursing during the said deceased's illness, the sum of five hundred livres; and, besides, another sum of twenty-five livres;

That she owed furthermore to Sieur Olivier the sum of one thousand and fifty livres, representing the price of six horned cattle bought by the late Milhet from said Sieur Olivier;

Item: that she owed to one Borel the sum of thirty livres;

Item: that she owed to Sieur Jung thirty-four quarters of tar, at the rate of four livres and five sols in white silver, currency of Spain, per quarter;

Item: that she owed the funeral expenses according to a statement that will be furnished;

Item: that she owed the Doctor for services and medicines, according to a statement that will be furnished by the surgeon who treated the deceased;

Item: that she owed Sieur Chateau for her mourning dress, according to the bill that will be furnished;

Item: that she owed the nurse the salary for three days and three nights, of which expense she will furnish a receipt;

She also declared that there were on the said plantation: four hatchets, four mattocks, two adzes, two buckets;

Item: one large and one small pirogue.

And the foregoing are all the assets of said succession, according to the declaration of the said Madame the widow

Milhet, to whom they were entrusted; and she voluntarily took charge of them and promised to produce same again, whenever requested so to do by the Court.

Done and drafted at New Orleans on said day, month and year.

(Signed): Jeanne Poithier Milhet; A. Olivier; Ducros; Bary; Delaplace; Delaunay.

Copy of the above documents.

September 30, 1763.—There is included in the file under consideration, a copy, certified by Garic, Royal Notary, of the above petition of Lafreniere, of the order of Dabbadie, and of the inventory hereinabove presented. All are dated September 30, 1763. (Signed): Garic, Notary.

Document annexed to the above.

May 4, 1764.—To the Said document is annexed the following statement of judicial costs:

Madame Milhet owes for judicial costs concerning the inventory:

To the Judge for his fees:.....	10 livres
To the Procureur General:.....	10 livres
To the Clerk:.....	10 livres
To the Sheriff:.....	5 livres
To the Registry for copies:.....	15 livres
Total:.....	50 livres

The present statement of costs amounting to the sum of fifty livres, to be paid by Madame the widow Milhet to the Clerk of the Council, and for which payment she shall be duly discharged, was approved by the undersigned acting Procureur General of the King.

New Orleans, May 4, 1764. (Signed): Delaplace.

Furthermore: for the order granting her one year's time for the registration of her marriage contract:.....10 livres

Release by Joseph Burat to Widow Tourangin concerning rendition of account of her tutorship of the Milhet minors.

April 6, 1764.—Before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, personally appeared Sieur Joseph Burat, in the name and as tutor of the Milhet minors and as husband of Louise Milhet, on one side; and Magdeleine Robin, widow of Claude Tourangin called La Couture, who was under obligation to account for the tutorship of the said Milhet minors, on the other side.

The two parties, by virtue of the order of the Superior Council of the 7th of the present month, settled the account of

the Milhet succession, the proceeds whereof, barring the immoveable property which remains undivided, amount to the sum of 3813 livres, 13 sols and 9 deniers, for which sum Madame Robin had been charged; and now, in order to be fully released from same, the said Madame Robin produced: a discharge by Adam Frederick, as husband of Genevieve Milhet, passed before Master Chantalou, Notary, for the sum of 1640 livres; another discharge by the abovementioned appearer, Joseph Burat, for the sum of 550 livres, which had been given him by Madame Robin and her husband on account of what was due him by the Milhet succession; another discharge by the same Joseph Burat for the sum of 350 livres, for rent; another discharge for the sum of 200 livres for expenses paid by Madame Robin in reference to the appointment of the new tutor; another discharge for the sum of 60 livres for copies of legal documents; another discharge for the sum of 30 livres paid to the Sheriff for serving several summons; another discharge for the sum of 40 livres paid for a certified copy of the aforesaid discharge of Adam Frederick; another discharge for the sum of 40 livres representing the cost of the present act; another discharge for the sum of 100 livres for expenses of accounts rendered by said Magdeleine Robin: all the hereinabove specified sums amounting to the total of 3290 livres, which was deducted from the said sum of 3813 livres, 13 sols and 9 deniers; consequently there remains to be accounted for by Madame Magdeleine Robin, in full settlement of the claim of the Milhet succession, the sum of 523 livres, 13 sols and 9 deniers; which sum was now, in the presence of Monsieur Delaunay, paid by Madame Magdeleine Robin to Joseph Burat, in his capacity of tutor, who, by these presents, signified his acknowledgment and granted a general release to said Magdeleine Robin, and promised to have her also released towards whomsoever else it may concern, and elected, insofar as the execution of these presents is concerned, his domicile in his residence in this city.

Done and passed in the Notarial Office of this city on April 6, 1764, in the morning, in the presence of Sieurs Joseph Becat and Joseph Macon, duly qualified witnesses, residing here.

(Signed): Madeleine Tourangin; J. Maison; Delaunay; Jh. Becat; Garic, Notary.

Joseph Burat declared that he could neither write nor sign.

Adjudication to
Terriere of the
lease of a house
and lot belonging
to the Milhet
minors, for the
sum of 405 livres
for a five-year
term.

November 5, 1764.—On November 5, 1764, at the request of Sieur Joseph Burat, in his capacity of tutor for the Milhet minors, and as husband of Louise Milhet, also a minor, and by virtue of the order of November 2nd of Mr. Dabbadie, Director General, Commandant for the King and First Judge of the Council of Louisiana, directing that the

house and ground situated in this city and belonging to the Milhet minors be judicially leased, from date and for the term of five years, subject to the condition that the lessee shall deliver, at the termination of said lease, the said house and ground in the same condition as they are at present, and shall provide for all necessary repairs, and shall pay the price of adjudication to the said Joseph Burat in current money, or in letters of exchange, or in silver piastres at the rate of one hundred sols, provided that adjustment in the price of adjudication shall be made in the event of fluctuation in the rate of exchange:

Monsieur Louis Piot de Launay, Councillor of the Superior Council, accompanied by Monsieur Joseph Adrien de Laplace, acting Procureur General of the King, went to the Registry of the Council; and having read the procès-verbal relating to the advertisement made by Maison, Sheriff of the Council, and the clauses concerning the lease of the aforesaid property situated on Toulouse Street, adjoining on one side the property of Sieur Harant, and on the other side the property of Sieur Louis Allier, consisting of three rooms with doors and windows closing with lock and key, measuring twenty by forty feet, and standing on a double lot of ground, measuring eighty feet frontage by one hundred and twenty feet in depth, all fenced in.

The said Maison, Sheriff, received a bid of 160 livres for the lease; which bid was raised by Sieur Beaurepos to 200 livres; by Sieur Beauby to 240 livres; Sr. Beaurepos to 280 livres; by Sr. Beauby to 300 livres; by Sr. Beaurepos to 345 livres; by Sr. Charles Vienne to 350 livres; by Sr. Beaurepos to 399 livres; by Sr. Vienne to 400 livres; by Sr. Terriere to 450 livres.

And no higher bid having been offered, the aforesaid Councillor Commissioner, with the consent of the Procureur General of the King and of Joseph Burat, tutor, adjudicated the lease of said property to Sieur Terriere, upon the foregoing stipulations, which were expressly and formally accepted by him.

(Signed): Triere; Delaplace; Delaunay.

Above lease
transferred by
Terriere to
Widow Dorgon.

November 25, 1766.—On November 25, 1766, the above lease was transferred by the lessee, Sieur Terriere, to Madam the widow Dorgon for the remaining term of three years for the same price of 405 livres per year and subject to the same stipulations and conditions as set forth in the preceding document.

Done and passed in New Orleans in the presence of Sieurs J. Maison and Henry Gardrat, competent witnesses, residing

here, who signed together with the interested parties, with the exception of Sieur Burat, who stated that he could neither write nor sign.

(Signed): Deverges D'Orgon widow; Triere; Henry Gardrat; J. Maison.

July 8.

No. 8417. 5 pp.

Marriage Contract
between Charles
Le Comte and Marie
Anne L'Herable
called St. Laurent.

Marriage Contract executed before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, between Sieur Charles Le Comte, merchant of this city, of age and in the full enjoyment of his rights, native of Dieppe, parish of St. Aubin, archbishopric of Rouen, son of the late Sieur Charles Le Comte and of Ma-

dame Jeanne Levaloit; and Demoiselle Marie Anne L'Herable called St. Laurent, native of this city, parish of St. Louis, minor daughter of Sieur Laurent L'Herable called St. Laurent and of the late Madame Jeanne Dupré.

Sieur Le Comte assisted by Sieur Laurent De la Sisse, merchant of this city, and by Sieur René Briont, also merchant of this city. Demoiselle L'Herable assisted by Sieur Laurent L'Herable called St. Laurent, her father; by Madame Jeanne Asselin, her step-mother; by Sieur Antoine Bienvenu, Major of the Coast-guard Militia, her uncle; and by her cousin, Sieur René Harpin De la Gautrais, Captain of Infantry.

Executed at the residence of Sieur Laurent L'Herable called St. Laurent, in this city, on July 8, 1763, in the afternoon, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Pierre Bary and Marin Lenormand, competent witnesses, residing here.

(Signed): Charles Le Conte; Marianne Lerable; Lerable called St. Laurent; Bary; Bienvenu; Delassize; Lenormand; Garic, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 8.

2 pp.

Answer of Joseph
Ducros, Attorney
for Vacant Estates,
to the petition
filed June 23,
1763, by Francois
Xavier Dacosta,
acting under
procuration of
Joseph Manuel
Martinez, seeking
recovery of the
proceeds of sale
of 1431 pounds of
tallow.

Your Excellencies: The claim made today by Sieur Francois Xavier Dacosta in his petition to recover 1431 pounds of tallow, by virtue of the procuration granted him by one Joseph Manuel Martinez, does not, at first sight, appear objectionable, nor does it seem susceptible of any defense, in view of the vouchers presented in support of said petition; yet the character of said vouchers compels respondent to present to the Court certain observations in reference to the demand made upon him by said Sieur Dacosta, and served upon the defendant on June 28th last:

First: the respondent, as soon as he received the petition of the plaintiff, called upon him, and having

perused all the documents relating to the Argous succession, was unable to discover any evidence that the said tallow had been received by the late Argous, that it was sold, and that the proceeds of sale were used for any purpose; and it cannot be presumed that the defunct, who was a merchant, would have taken charge of the sale of certain merchandise for account of other people, without being furnished, in his own behalf and interest, with some documents concerning the transaction;

Second: the procuration granted by Martinez to Don Jean Christophe Carta, who, by his substitution of November 13th last, transferred same to Sieur Dacosta, demands close scrutiny to confirm its authenticity; its form and its tenor show that it was drafted by a notary, and the other formalities appear to have been complied with; but one essential formality lacking is the legalization of the signature of the first judge of the place. If this formality is not complied with in Spain, the attestations of the two Notaries, who state that the one who drafted the procuration is a public official, to whom credit must be given, do not prove anything, and the procuration, as a legal document, remains open to question;

Third: Sieur Dacosta had his papers translated by Master Garic, who, as he states, made the translation only as a matter of accommodation, therefore those papers must be considered as private documents, and are deprived of all legal value, since the translator had not been officially appointed by the First Judge of the Council.

The foregoing observations, in respondent's opinion, appear so important, that he considers it his duty to present them to the Court in order to be protected against any surprise concerning both the validity of the aforesaid procuration and the purpose it is intended to serve.

New Orleans, July 8, 1763. (Signed): Ducros.

July 8.

2 pp.

Petition to the Superior Council by Joseph Villars for an order directing Widow de Portneuf to render an account of her husband's succession.

Petition to Their Excellencies of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana:

Joseph Villars has the honor to represent that after the death of Sieur de Portneuf he was appointed tutor of Demoiselle de Portneuf, and consequently he sent his procuration in blank to Illinois, for the purpose of enabling Madame the widow de Portneuf to render her account

of the succession;

That the said procuration was filled in with the name of Mr. Fagot, who had already been appointed tutor in Illinois

to look after the property of Demoiselle de Portneuf, and who, in said capacity, had requested Madame de Portneuf to render an account of the succession, and to furnish a copy of the inventory made by Sieur Portneuf before his marriage;

That Madame de Portneuf had rendered an account of only a portion of what had been set forth in the inventory, by delivering to Sieur Fagot only two negroes and one young negress, instead of the three negroes entered in the inventory; that Madame de Portneuf delivered to Sieur Fagot only eight silver covers in lieu of the ten stated in the aforesaid inventory; that Madame de Portneuf did not render any account of the crop of the year, nor of the personal effects of the late Sieur de Portneuf.

For all the foregoing considerations petitioner prays that it may please Your Excellencies to order that the said Madame de Portneuf render her account before one of the Councillors, whom it may please Your Excellencies to appoint Commissioner in this case, and before the petitioner, so that the said account might be examined at the first session of the Council; and to order also that Madame de Portneuf show the petitioner her marriage contract, which had not been left by her in Illinois. And justice will be rendered by Your Excellencies.

New Orleans, July 8, 1763. (Signed): Villars.

July 9.

2 pp.

Bernard Dauterive
vs. Le Chevalier
de St. Denis:
Decision rendered
for the second time
in default against
the defendant
condemning him to
execute sale of
slaves made by
contract under
private signature,
and to pay wages
for said slaves
until delivery,
and costs.

Extract from the Minutes of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana: Session of July 9, 1763: Suit between Sieur Bernard Dauterive, Captain of a company of colonial troops, represented by Sieur Gilbert Maxent, merchant of this city, acting by virtue of power of attorney, plaintiff; and Sieur Le Chevalier de St. Denis, Officer of the colonial troops, defendant in default.

The Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana, having considered its order of March 5th last, rendered in default against the defendant; having considered the plaintiff's petition, the order, and the citation of July 17th and 19th, respectively, of last year, the said petition representing:

That plaintiff had bought from defendant a negro named Cezard and his wife named Marie Anne, together with their three children, as evidenced by act of sale under private signature dated October 12, 1761, which slaves were to be delivered by the defendant to the plaintiff during the month of December of the same year; that the plaintiff was unable to obtain de-

livery of the said slaves despite his demands; and concluding that plaintiff be allowed to have the said defendant summoned at the domicile of Monsieur the Procureur General of the King, to appear at the first session of the Council, and that judgment be rendered condemning defendant to deliver to him, without delay, the said slaves; and, in default thereof, to pay him for their hire and to hold defendant liable for the death of said slaves until delivery; and to pay in addition all expenses and costs.

Whereupon, having seen and examined the aforesaid contract of sale under private signature, dated October 12, 1761, the Council rendered a first decision in default against the defendant, ordering that he be summoned again to appear before the Council within three months; costs reserved; this order having been served by Mr. Lenormand, Sheriff, on March 16th upon the defendant, who was to appear at the session of today.

And now the Council rendered a second decision in default and condemned the defendant to deliver the negroes in question; to pay the hire of same in an amount to be fixed by experts, whom the parties will appoint, or otherwise appointment will be made by the Court; and furthermore condemned the defendant to pay all costs.

Rendered in the Council-chamber on July 9, 1763.

By the Council. (Clerk's signature missing.)

July 9.

3 pp.

Francois Xavier Dacosta, acting under procuration of Jean Christophe Carta, vs. Joseph Ducros, Attorney for Vacant Estates: Council's decision directing that briefs be filed in the case by both parties.

Extracts from the Minutes of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana: Session of July 9, 1763: Suit between Sieur Francois Xavier Dacosta, at present in this city, acting under procuration of Jean Christophe Carta, plaintiff; and Sieur Joseph Ducros, Attorney for Vacant Estates in this colony, defendant.

The Superior Council, having read the petition of the plaintiff, the order and the citation dated 27th and 28th June last, respectively; the said petition representing that Manuel Martinez had shipped on the vessel commanded by Sieur Argous, and to the latter's consignment, 1431 pounds of tallow to be sold in this city by the said Sieur Argous, as evidenced by the annexed voucher, and by Sieur Argous' acknowledgment of January 28, 1759, written beneath said voucher; that Sieur Argous had sailed from this city for Jamaica where he was accidentally killed, and, consequently, he could not render an account of the aforesaid tallow; that the plaintiff was informed that the funds of the Argous succession were in the hands of the defendant, in his capacity of Attorney for Vacant Estates;

And concluding, that he be allowed to summon the said defendant before the Superior Council at its first session, and that judgment be rendered directing defendant to render an account of said tallow and to pay plaintiff the proceeds of sale of same, by means whereof the defendant shall be duly and validly discharged; and in the event that the proceeds of sale of said tallow are not proven, that its price be fixed by experts appointed by the parties or by the Court.

Having seen the aforesaid power of attorney of November 13, 1762; the substitution of same of February 23, 1763; the voucher and weight relating to said tallow; and the acknowledgment of Sieur Argous; having read the answer of the defendant, in his stated capacity, dated yesterday; the parties having been heard, as well as the Procureur General of the King in his conclusions:

The Council ordered and does order that the parties present their arguments in writing to Monsieur De Launay, appointed Commissioner in this case, the whole to be communicated to the Procureur General of the King, and then reported to the Council, which will decide as it will see fit. Costs reserved.

Given in the Council-chamber in New Orleans, on July 9, 1763.

By the Council. (Signed): Garlic, Clerk.

Above decision
served upon
Joseph Ducros,
Attorney for
Vacant Estates.

July 19, 1763.—On July 19, 1763, at the request of Sieur Dacosta, the above order was served upon Sieur Ducros by Mr. Lenormand, Sheriff of the Superior Council. (Signed): Lenormand.

July 14.

No. 8418. 1 p.

Procuration in
blank by Izaac
Monsanto and
revocation of a
previous power
of attorney.

Before the undersigned Counsel and Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, appeared Sieur Izaac Monsanto, who constituted as his general and special attorney . . . (blank space for name) . . ., granting him full authority and power to receive from Sieur Jean Joué, merchant, residing at . . . (blank for place) . . ., all the funds that the latter might have received from the Attorney for Vacant Estates of Cayez St. Louis and arising from the succession of the late Perpignac; and this by virtue of the power of attorney granted by appearer to said Sieur Joué, which power of attorney is hereby revoked by appearer. The constituted attorney shall use the funds collected from said Sieur Joué, or from any other person, according to instructions given by appearer and shall grant valid discharges; etc.

Done and passed in the Notarial Office in this city on July 14, 1763, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Lenormand and Joseph Becat, competent witnesses, residing here.

(Signed): Jh. Becat; Monsanto and Co.; Lenormand; Garic, Notary.

(Signed, in margin): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 15.

No. 8419. 2 pp.

Sale of negress
and her four
children by
Governor Kerlérec
to Faurez for
8000 livres in
French currency.

On July 15, 1763, before noon, at the request of Messire Louis de Kerlérec, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Captain of His Majesty's ships and Governor of the Province of Louisiana, the undersigned Counsel and Royal Notary for said province, residing in New Orleans, went to the Government Office, where the said Sieur de Kerlérec declared and confessed to have this day sold, abandoned and delivered to Sieur Forez, Port Captain, residing in this city, who also appeared and signified his acceptance, a negress named Angelique, twenty-seven years old, together with her four children, who are: Louis, mulatto, seven years old; Marie Jeanne, four and a half years old; André, three years old; Helene, ten months old. The purchase price was fixed at the sum of 6000 livres in currency of France, of which 2000 livres in letters of exchange payable immediately upon the arrival in France of Sieur de Kerlérec and the remaining 4000 to be paid within three years together with legal interest; and as surety Sieur Forez granted a mortgage on all his property, movable and immovable, present and future.

Executed in the Office of the Government in this city in the presence of Sieurs Joseph Becat and Marin Lenormand, duly qualified witnesses, residing in this city.

(Signed): Kerlérec; A. Faurez; Jh. Becat; Lenormand; Garic, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 16.

No. 8421. 6 pp.

Decision of the
Superior Council
on the opposition
of André Jung to
tutorship account
rendered by Madame
Charlotte Labbé.

Louis, by the Grace of God King of France and Navarre, to all who will read these presents, greetings:

The Superior Council of Louisiana, having examined the tutorship account rendered to Sieur André Jung, tutor for the St. Laurent minors, by Madame Charlotte Labbé, widow of the late Sieur Michel Pasquet, concerning the succession of the late Sieur St. Laurent, in his life-time a resident of Pascagoula; the said tutorship account having been presented and certified

to be true by the said Madame Labbé on November 15, 1759, and having been served upon the said tutor by Bary, Sheriff of the Council, on July 25, 1761; the opposition to said account by the tutor having been served on Madame Labbé by Lenormand, Sheriff of the Council, on the following September 25th;

Having examined the answer, not served, of Madame Labbé, of the 27th of the said month of September; and all the documents concerning the suit; having examined the report of Monsieur De la Chaise, Councillor of the Superior Council, appointed Commissioner on this case, of February 6, 1762;

And considering the conclusions submitted yesterday by the Procureur General of the King: The Council Ordered and does order that the receipts shown on said account shall be allowed and approved as they appear in the sum of 4761 livres, 7 sols and 8 deniers; that the items of expenditure carried on the aforesaid account, concerning the food and wearing apparel furnished to the negroes, be set aside and rejected; that all the other items of expenditure presented in said account, as well as the sum of 500 livres for living and traveling expenses of her late husband, be allowed and approved; that accordingly the expenditures of said account be reduced to the sum of 2690 livres and 15 sols; and that the assets of said account be made to appear in the sum of 2070 livres, 12 sols and 8 deniers, which Madame Labbé shall pay to the aforesaid tutor, who shall grant her a valid discharge; that the Council's Chief Sheriff or Deputy charged with the execution of these presents, perform all acts necessary and required, and that he be granted full authority to carry this order into effect.

Given in the Council-chamber at New Orleans, on March 5, 1763.

By the Council. (Signed): Broutin, Clerk.

Received forty livres. (Paraphed by Broutin.)

Decision of the
Superior Council
served on Madame
Charlotte Labbé.

April 6, 1763.—On April 6, 1763, by virtue of the foregoing order, and at the request of Sieur André Jung, in his capacity of tutor for the St. Laurent minors, the said order of the Superior Council was served upon Madame Charlotte Labbé, widow of the late Michel Pasquet, and copy of same was delivered to her by the Sheriff of the Council. (Signed): Lenormand.

Full release
granted by André
Jung to Madame
Charlotte Labbé,
upon payment by
her of amount
due in settlement
of her tutorship
account.

July 16, 1763.—On July 16, 1763, in the morning, before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, appeared Sieur André Jung, in the name and as tutor of the minor children of the late Sieur St. Laurent, who acknowledged and confessed having received this day from Sieur Broutin, acting in behalf of Madame

Charlotte Labbé, widow of the late Michel Pasquet, former tutrix of the said St. Laurent minors, the sum of 2070 livres, 12 sols and 8 deniers, representing the balance due in settlement of the tutorship account rendered by her, which payment she was ordered by the Council to make; and Sieur Jung acquitted and released Madame Labbé and promised to have her discharged also towards whomsoever else it may concern.

Executed in the Notarial Office of this city, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Pierre Bary and Joseph Becat, duly qualified witnesses.

(Signed) : Bary ; Jung ; Jh. Becat ; Garic, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page) : Devergés ; De Reggio ; Ducros.

The document is in perfect state of preservation, and the penmanship is elegant.

July 16.

No. 8422. 5 pp.

Petition to the Superior Council by Jean Baptiste Leonard, who has reached the age of twenty years, for emancipation and for a family meeting to effect a partition of the property in which he has an interest.

Petition to Their Excellencies of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana :

Jean Baptiste Leonard, minor son of the late Jean Baptiste Leonard and of Marie Françoise Muguet, humbly prays and represents, that he has this day attained the age of twenty years, as evidenced by his baptismal certificate, and wishes to obtain his emancipation, so that he may enjoy his share of the revenue of landed property and a residence owned in indivision with Jacques Timier, his maternal brother; and, in order to effect a partition, prays that it may please Your Excellencies to order that a family meeting of relatives or friends be convened before one of the Councillors, and in the presence of the Procureur General of the King. And right will be done.

New Orleans, July 8, 1763. (Signed) : J. B'te Leonard.

Above petition referred to the Procureur General.

July 15, 1763.—Let the foregoing petition be referred to the Procureur General of the King, who shall report his conclusions to us, so that we can take such action as the case demands.

New Orleans, July 15, 1763. (Signed) : Dabbadie.

Procureur General requests the assembling of a family meeting.

July 15, 1763.—I request, in the King's name, that the relatives, and, in their default, the friends of the petitioner, be convened before a Councillor appointed

Commissioner on this case, to deliberate on the subject matter of the above petition, the said deliberations to be reported to the Council, which will consider the conclusions and will issue such orders as it will see fit.

New Orleans, July 15, 1763. (Signed) : Lafreniere.

Family meeting
is ordered held
before Kernion,
appointed Commis-
sioner on the case.

July 15, 1763.—Let the relatives, and, in their default, the friends of petitioner be convened before Monsieur Kernion, Councillor of the Council, appointed Commissioner on this case; and let its deliberations be reported to the Council, which will issue such orders as it will see fit, after having heard the conclusions of the Procureur General. New Orleans, July 15, 1763. (Signed): Dabadie.

Summons for the
family meeting.

July 15, 1763.—On July 15, 1763, by virtue of the foregoing order, and on request of Jean Baptiste Leonard, summons were served by the Sheriff of the Council upon the following persons:

Sieur Jacques Estimier (Timier), brother of the said minor; Sieur Hinard, shipmaster, residing in this city; Sieur Avignon, inhabitant of this city; Sieur Maxant, merchant of this city; Sieur J. D. Bunel, goldsmith of this city; Sieur Gautreau, inhabitant of this city; Sieur Gaillard, master cooper of this city: to appear tomorrow, July 16th, at nine o'clock in the morning, before Mr. de Kernion, Councillor, Commissioner in this case, and in the presence of the Procureur General of the King, to deliberate on the emancipation of the said minor.

(Signed): Lenormand.

Family meeting
unanimously advised
the emancipation of
Jean Baptiste
Leonard.

July 16, 1763.—The family meeting was held at the Court-house on July 16th, before Monsieur Jean Francois Huchet de Kernion, Councillor of the Superior Council, appointed Commissioner on this case, and in the presence of Monsieur De la Freniere, Procureur General of the King.

There were present: Louis Cheval, Jean Hisnard, Gilbert Maxent, Claude Rayneaud called Avignon, Jean Dominique Bunel, Jean Baptiste Gautreau, Gaillard, and Jacques Timier, half-brother of the minor Jean Baptiste Leonard.

All the aforesaid appearers, having promised, under oath, to express an honest and sincere opinion in reference to the emancipation in question, stated, with one voice, that they were of opinion that Jean Baptiste Leonard should be emancipated, so that he could enjoy his movable property and the revenue of his immovable property, as he was able to manage and administer the said property and revenue respectively; and the said appearers designated as Curator, Sieur Claude Raynaud called Avignon, merchant of this city, who signified his acceptance and promised honestly to perform the duties of his office.

(Signed): Avignon; Hinard; Maxent; Cheval; Bunel; Gaillard; Garic, Notary.

Jacques Timier declared that he could neither write nor sign.

Advice of the family meeting reported to the Superior Council.

July 16, 1763.—Whereupon the aforesaid Councillor Commissioner and the Procureur General of the King ordered that the foregoing opinion expressed by the family meeting be referred to the Superior Council, so that it could decide on the subject matter as it saw fit.

Given in the Council-chamber, at New Orleans, July 16, 1763.

(Signed): Huchet de Kernion; Lafreniere.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 18.

No. 8423. 1 p.

Widow Grandpré acknowledges receipt of 6000 livres from De Chavoy, due on a note to order of her late husband, which note was lost.

I acknowledge to have received from Mr. de Chavoy, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Captain of a company of the detached Marine Troops, the sum of 6000 livres in settlement of an equal amount represented by a note, which is lost, to order of the late Monsieur Grandpré and due in the month of April last, which lost note becomes null and void, and I pray Monsieur Garic to grant release to Monsieur de Chavoy for the

aforesaid sum, which was entered in the inventory.

New Orleans, July 17, 1763. (Signed): Widow Grandpré approved the foregoing writing.

Above discharge confirmed by a notarial act.

July 18, 1763.—On July 18, 1763, before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, personally appeared Madame Gallard, widow of the late Monsieur de Grandpré, who, by these presents, acknowledged and confessed having received today from Mr. de Chavoye the sum of 6000 livres, which he owed to the late Sieur de Grandpré, as evidenced by a note, which is now lost; and for the said amount the aforesaid Madame Gallard acquitted Mr. de Chavoye, and promised to have him released by and towards whomsoever it may concern; wherefore the said note, in the event that it is found, is hereby declared null and void, as it is cancelled by these presents.

Executed in the Notarial Office of this city, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Lenormand and Pierre Marin Bary, duly qualified witnesses.

(Signed): Galar widow Grandpré; De Chavoy; Garic, Notary.

(Signed, in margin): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 18.

3 pp.

Petition to the Superior Council by Louis Viviat, acting for Corail, for sequestration of the property of Olivier and of his surety, Duplanty, in settlement of partnership accounts.

Petition to Their Excellencies of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana:

Louis Viviat, merchant of this city, acting under procuration of Sieur Corail, humbly prays and represents:

That on March 21, 1762, Sieur Olivier entered into a partnership with Sieur Corail, concerning the brigantine "Le Franc-macon", under the command of Sieur Corail; that on the last day of said month of March the said brig, having reached the mouth of the River, encountered a gale from the north, and, as the vessel could not use her sails, on account of the ignorance and incapacity of the crew, the Captain decided to put into Campeche, where he secured other sailors to continue the cruise; that, having left Campeche on April 22nd, Sieur Corail met with such bad weather, that he could barely make the port of Marielle one month later on May 22nd, and then he had the misfortune of meeting with and being captured by two corsair vessels, one armed with twelve guns, and the other with fourteen guns; that Sieur Olivier, having been informed of the said capture, tried to deceive the Council by asking for the funds left by Sieur Corail on deposit with Sieur Braquier, for his own account, and succeeded in his purpose by means of scandalous representations concerning Sieur Corail, who, upon his return to this city, was greatly surprised to learn that Sieur Braquier had remitted the whole deposit under the security of Sieur Duplanty; that Sieur Corail made a request for the return of his funds, and offered to settle the expense account concerning the said brig "Le Franc-macon," but to no avail; and therefore he was compelled to present a petition to Monsieur Foucault; then Sr. Olivier was condemned to pay. This equitable decision should have closed the litigation; but Sr. Olivier, whose intent is to delay the matter, found a new subterfuge. He brought a lawsuit against Sr. Corail in reference to the aforesaid forced putting into Campeche. This new case was referred to arbitration, and the arbitrators decided that those expenses were common to and should be prorated between the interested parties, after Sr. Corail's statement, which he was requested to make under oath, that he had to put into Campeche only in the interest and for the advantage of the partnership; and, following Sr. Corail's declaration, the sentence was confirmed on May 28, 1763, and duly served on Sieur Olivier.

Although the legal term for appeal had expired, Sieur Olivier lodged an appeal to the King's Privy Council, but soon afterward he acknowledged his error and consented to settle the account relating to the brigantine "Le Franc-macon" on May 30, 1763; and in the said settlement Sieur Olivier admitted

still owing *Sieur Corail* the sum he received from *Sieur Braquier*; and, on the same date, he gave *Sr. Corail* an account on said obligation, but he neglected to make payment for the balance; and *Sr. Corail* was compelled to present a petition to *Monsieur Foucault* requesting that *Sr. Olivier* be directed to carry out the aforesaid settlement; but, as the whole matter had never been exposed in its full light before the judge, the latter ordered that *Sr. Corail* furnish *Sr. Olivier* with a security of 27,500 livres; that it is not just that *Sr. Corail* should furnish security for what belongs to him.

For all the foregoing considerations, Your Excellencies, and for the purpose of proving the claims of *Sieur Corail*, the petitioner prays that all the documents in his possession be submitted to the consideration of the Court, so that the Court can see that after the settlement of the current account by *Sr. Corail* to *Sr. Olivier*, relating to the aforesaid brig "*Le Franc-macon*", there remained to be paid to *Sr. Corail* by *Sr. Olivier* the sum received by the latter from *Sr. Braquier*, on which amount *Sr. Olivier* has already paid something on account.

Wherefore petitioner prays for a sequestration of the property belonging to *Sr. Olivier* and to his surety, *Sieur Duplanty*, in default of payment of 27,500 livres still owed by *Sr. Olivier* to *Sieur Corail*, and in default of payment of interest on the sum of 62,000 livres formerly delivered by *Sr. Braquier* to *Sr. Olivier*. And for all costs. And justice will be done.

New Orleans, July 18, 1763. (Signed): *Viviat*.

Permit to cite.

July 18, 1763—Let *Sieur Olivier* be summoned to appear at the first session of the Council. New Orleans, July 18, 1763. (Signed): *Dabbadie*.

Citation served.

July 22, 1763.—On July 22, 1763, at the request of *Sieur Viviat*, citation was served by the Sheriff of the Superior Council upon *Sieur Olivier*, to appear before the Council on the first Saturday of the next month of August, at eight o'clock in the morning, to answer on the subject matter of the above petition. (Signed): *Lenormand*.

July 20.

No. 8424. 3 pp.

Mortgage granted
by *Raguet* to
Baschemin.

Before the undersigned Counsel and Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, appeared *Mr. Jacob Corbin Baschemin*, officer of the colonial troops, in the name of *Sieur Thomas Corbin Baschemin*, and as trustee of the money inherited by said *Sr. Thomas Corbin Baschemin* as his share and portion in the succession of his parents; and the said appearer declared that, in order to derive profit from the funds belonging to *Sr. Thomas Corbin Basche-*

min, he had deemed it convenient to invest same with interest and thought that such funds were safely invested in the hands of *Sieur Raguet*, merchant of this city, who also appeared and signified his acceptance and acknowledged to have received this day from *Sieur Jacob Corbin Baschemin* the sum of 23,052 livres, 11 sols and 5 deniers, in colonial currency, under the clause and condition that he return and pay back the said sum within the term of eighteen months from date, and pay interest at the rate of five per cent, in conformity with the King's decree; and *Sieur Raguet* promised to comply with said clause and condition, and as security, granted a mortgage on all his property, movable and immovable, present and future.

Passed in the Notarial Office of this city, on July 20, 1763, in the presence of *Sieurs Marin Le Normand* and *Pierre Bary*, duly qualified witnesses, residing in this city.

(Signed: *Raguet*; *Jacob Corbin Baschemin*; *Bary*; *Le-normand*; *Garic*, Notary.

Renewal of the
above mortgage
with interest.

February 6, 1765.—On February 6, 1763, before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, appeared *Monsieur Raguet*, merchant of this city, who acknowledged and confessed owing to *Sieur Thomas Corbin Baschemin* the sum of 1728 livres, 18 sols and one denier, in old colonial currency, for the interest due on the sum of 23,052 livres, 11 sols and 5 deniers, making together the total of 24,779 livres, 9 sols and 6 deniers, which the aforesaid *Sieur Raguet* promised to pay, together with the interest, within six months from and after January 20th to *Sieur Jacob Corbin Baschemin*, brother of said *Sr. Thomas Corbin Baschemin*, in whose name and behalf he had acted; and, as security, *Sr. Raguet* offered a mortgage on all his property, present and future.

Executed in the Notarial Office of this city, on the aforesaid day, month and year, in the presence of *Sieurs Mazange* and *Gardrat*, competent witnesses, residing here.

(Signed): *Raguet*; *Jacob Corbin Baschemin*; *Remy Gardrat*; *L. Mazange*; *Garic*, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): *Devergés*; *De Reggio*; *Ducros*.

July 20.

No. 8425. 10 pp.

Rousseau succession:
Laurent Lerable
called *St. Laurent*,
as tutor of the
Rousseau minors,
seeks an order
directing that
remittance be made

Petition to *Monsieur Dabbadie*, Commissioner General of the Marine and First Judge of the Superior Council of this province:

The undersigned *Laurent Le Rable* called *St. Laurent*, in his capacity of tutor for the *Rousseau* minors, humbly prays and represents, that he learned that *Charles Rousseau*, brother of the said minors, and absent from this colony for

to him of personal effects of Charles Rousseau, brother of said minors, who died on board the Royal Frigate "L'Aigrette" at La Balize.

several years, had embarked on board the frigate "Legrette" (L'Aigrette), at present at La Balize, and that he died on board of said frigate, according to declaration made at the admiralty of this city. And he prays that it may please

Your Excellency to order that the personal effects and all merchandise that might have belonged to said late Charles Rousseau be delivered to petitioner, so that the same might be disposed of by judicial sale, and the proceeds thereof given to said minors. And right will be done. New Orleans, July 19, 1763.

Above petition referred to the Procureur General.

July 20, 1763.—Let the Above petition be served on Monsieur the Procureur General, and after he has made his report thereon, we shall render judgment. New Orleans, July 20, 1763. (Signed): Dabbadie.

Procureur General requests that the above petition be granted.

July 20, 1763.—I Request, in the King's name, that the personal effects left by the late Charles Rousseau and deposited with the admiralty of this city be inventoried and then delivered to Sieur Laurent, in his capacity of tutor, in order that they might be disposed of by judicial sale, the proceeds thereof to be employed, under the supervision of the Procureur General of the King, to the best advantage of the Rousseau minors.

New Orleans, July 20, 1763. (Signed): Lafreniere.

Permit granted for inventory and judicial sale of personal effects of Charles Rousseau.

July 20, 1763.—Permit to take an inventory of the aforesaid effects, which are afterwards to be delivered to Sieur St. Laurent, in order that they might be disposed of to the best advantage of the minors; the proceeds of sale to be invested under the supervision of the Procureur General of the King; the said sale to be conducted according to the usual forms before Monsieur Delaunay, Councillor of the Superior Council, whom we appoint Commissioner on this case.

Given at New Orleans on July 20, 1763. (Signed): Dabbadie.

Inventory of said effects.

July 21, 1763.—On July 21, 1763, the following inventory was taken:

In a trunk were found: two hundred and thirty sheets of paper, some large and some small; about one pound of glue; sixty-eight pieces of drawings, some printed and some hand made; nine music books, some in good and some in bad condition; one case containing three razors and one razor-strop; one cartridge-box of Russian leather; one bayonet;

two small pincers; one brass compass; one sword with its belt; a pair of small brass scales, with one eight-ounce weight and one quarter-pound weight; ten knives with wooden handles; four packages of drawing pencils; one small brush; one small package of narrow tape; a package of thread; twenty-four livres in gold; twenty small packages of colors and chemicals for drawing and painting; three pairs of silk and four pairs of woolen stockings, all in bad condition, and four pairs of linen under-stockings in bad condition; five pairs of woolen breeches in bad condition; three pairs of shoes, one of which quite worn; one piece of linen goods, measuring about six ells; two pieces of striped woolen goods, measuring about eight ells; eleven livres.

In a bundle made with a blanket: one small mattress; one blanket of dog-hair; one hat in bad condition; one woolen frock-coat somewhat used; one coat, one waistcoat and two pairs of breeches, all of wool and somewhat used; one pair of blue breeches in bad condition; twelve shirts in bad condition; three new linen handkerchiefs, and two old ones; one old woolen cap; eight pairs of woolen and silk stockings in bad condition; one small bag; thirty-four packages of writing quills; one pair of brass buckles in bad condition; two woolen caps in bad condition; three swords, one broken; one package of white lead of about three pounds; one broken violin and two violin bows.

(Signed): Carlier; J. Jonoy; Avart; Lerable called St. Laurent; Delaunay.

Judicial sale of
said effects.

August 1, 1763.—The judicial sale of the effects set forth in the foregoing inventory was held on August 1, 1763, following the usual formalities, at the Registry of the Superior Council, and brought the total amount of 1152 livres, which were received by the Clerk of the Council, who shall account for same to whom it will lawfully concern.

(Signed): Lafreniere; Delaunay; Lerable called St. Laurent.

Receipt for
proceeds of
above sale.

August 16, 1763.—I have received from Monsieur Garic the sum of 1152 livres, representing the proceeds of the above sale. New Orleans, July (August) 16, 1763. (Signed): Lerable called St. Laurent.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 22.

No. 8426. 3 pp.

Procuration in
blank by Alexandre
Claude Duparquier,
with exclusion of
power to sell.

Before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, personally appeared Mr. Alexandre Claude Duparquier, a resident of this city, who, being unable at present to repair to France to settle personally his claims in the succession of his parents in Paris, by these presents constituted as his general and special attorney Monsieur..... (blank for name)....., whom he empowered to take cognizance of the inventories taken after the death of the late Sieur and Madame Duparquier, and of Madame Duparquier's testament; to consent to or to contest the execution of same, etc.; and to do, for the appearer's best advantage, all that the appearer himself could and would do if he were present, authority to sell being excluded; promising to accept as satisfactory, and to approve in advance and to ratify all that will be executed by the constituted attorney.

Done and passed in the Notarial Office in this city, on July 22, 1763, in the morning, in the presence of Sieurs Joseph Becat and Pierre Marin Bary, duly qualified witnesses, residing in this city.

(Signed) : Duparquier; Jh. Becat; Bary; Garic, Notary.

Power to sell,
which was denied
in above procuration,
now added to powers
of constituted
attorney.

October 21, 1763.—On October 21, 1763, at two o'clock in the afternoon, before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, appeared Mr. Alexandre Claude Duparquier, who declared that in the foregoing act of procuration he had not granted to his constituted attorney the authority to dispose of what might come to him from the successions of his parents, because it was then his intention to preserve in their entirety the shares and portions which he inherited; but now, having changed his mind on the subject, he decided to grant to his constituted attorney full power and authority to dispose of and sell all the property that the appearer might obtain from the said successions, for such prices and under such clauses and conditions as the said attorney will deem advisable and convenient; and to use and invest the proceeds of said sales in conformity with the appearer's instructions; and appearer promised to accept and ratify in advance all that will be performed by his constituted attorney.

Done and passed in the Notarial Office of this city, in the presence of Sieurs Jean Baptiste Gothereau and Jean Sargenton, competent witnesses.

(Signed) : Duparquier; Gauthero; Sargenton, Jr.; Garic, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page) : Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 22.

No. 8427. 2 pp.

Procuration by Benjamin Giraudeau to Voye Molinet, for looking after his business in New Orleans while he is absent on a trip to France.

Before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, personally appeared Sieur Benjamin Giraudeau, merchant of this city, at present about to sail for France, who, by these presents, appointed and constituted as his general and special attorney, Sieur Voye Molinet, merchant also of this city, whom he empowered, during his absence, to receive all effects, merchandise and goods shipped to appearer by his brothers or by other persons, to open the correspondence concerning the said shipments, to dispose of said effects, merchandise and goods to appearer's best advantage, and to use the proceeds of the sales according to appearer's instructions; and to do, in appearer's name, lieu and behalf, all that appearer himself would and could do if he were present, promising to approve and ratify all that will be executed by the constituted attorney.

Done and passed in the Notarial Office in this city, on July 22, 1763, in the morning, in the presence of Sieurs Joseph Becat and Pierre Marin Bary, competent witnesses, residing here.

(Signed) : Jh. Becat; Bary; B. Giraudeau; Voix Molinet; Garic, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page) : Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 23.

No. 8429. 6 pp.

Petition of Catherine Dardinau, widow of Jean Baptiste Rolland, who, having come to the colony at request of her husband, learned upon her arrival of his death in Mobile, requests an order directing the Judge in Mobile to have Lardar render his account to her.

Petition to Monsieur Dabbadie, Councillor of the King in His Councils, Commissioner General of the Marine, Intendant and First Judge of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana:

Catherine Dardinau, widow of the late Jean Baptiste Rolland, in his lifetime master gunner of the King at Fort Condé of Mobile, humbly prays and represents:

That upon the request of said Rolland, her husband, to join him in this colony, she sailed on the vessel "St. Joseph" of Bordeaux under the command of Captain

Larigalle; that upon arriving in this colony she was informed of the death of her husband, and was told that before dying he had begged Sieur Mitch, his friend, to take charge of his son and of the property left by him, until the arrival of his wife; that Sieur Mitch, having heard of petitioner's arrival, wrote her the annexed letter (not in the file) to inform her that Sieur Lardar was in his stead in charge of the aforesaid son and property; that Sieur Lardar wrote to petitioner the annexed letter

(not in the file) to inform her that he is prepared to render his account.

Wherefore petitioner prays that it may please Your Excellency to order that upon petitioner's arrival in Mobile, the Judge of said place shall direct that the said *Sieur Lardar* render his account to petitioner, and that she remain tutrix of her son. And justice will be done.

New Orleans, July 21, 1763. (Signed): Widow Jean Baptiste Rolland.

Above petition
ordered served on
Procureur General.

July 21, 1763.—Let the present petition be served on Monsieur the Procureur General. New Orleans, July 21, 1763.

(Signed): Dabbadie.

Procureur General
requests convening
of family meeting
to select a tutor
and curator for the
Rolland minor.

July 21, 1763.—I request, in the King's name, that the relatives, and, in their default, the friends of the family be convened before an appointed Commissioner to select a tutor and a curator for the

minor son of the late Rolland, former master gunner at Mobile. New Orleans, July 21, 1763. (Signed): Lafreniere.

Permit granted for
convening of the
family meeting.

July 22, 1763.—Permit to convene the relatives, or, in their default, the friends, before Monsieur Delaunay, Councillor

Commissioner in this case, in the presence of the Procureur General of the King, for the selection of a tutor and of a curator (probably should be "under-tutor") for the Rolland minor. New Orleans, July 22, 1763. (Signed): Dabbadie.

Summons served for
the family meeting.

July 22, 1763.—On July 22, 1763, by virtue of the above order, and at the request of Madame Catherine Dourdinau, widow of the late Jean Baptiste Rolland, summons were served by the Sheriff of the Superior Council upon the following persons:

Sieur Caillier, Sr., a friend of the said minor, and a resident of this city; *Sieur de la Sablonniere*, a friend of said minor and a resident of this city; *Sieur Lambremont*, a resident of this city; *Sieur La Grenade*, Sergeant of the colonial troops, a friend of said minor and a resident of this city; *Sieur Monget* called *La Lime*, locksmith, a friend of said minor and a resident of this city; *Sieur Cornillau*, inhabitant of this city, friend of said minor; *Sieur Laurent Bailly*, tailor, inhabitant of this city and friend of said minor: to appear tomorrow, 23rd of the present month, at seven o'clock in the morning, before Monsieur de Launay, Councillor Commissioner on this case, and in the presence of the Procureur General of the King, to express their opinion concerning the selection of a tutor and under-tutor for the Rolland minor. (Signed): Lenormand.

Deliberations
of the family
meeting.

July 23, 1763.—On July 23, 1763, at seven o'clock in the morning, the family meeting was convened before Monsieur

Louis Piot Delaunay, Commissioner in this case, in the presence of Monsieur De Lafreniere, Procureur General of the King, and the following persons were present:

Madame Catherine Dardinau, widow of the late Jean Baptiste Rolland, in his lifetime master gunner of the King at Fort Condé of Mobile; and Sieurs Cailler, Sr., Lassablonniere, Labremont, La Grenade, sergeant of the colonial troops, Monget La Lime, Cornillau, and Laurent Bailly, all residents of this city and friends of the Rolland minor; who appeared for the purpose of selecting a tutor and an under-tutor for the said minor. And, having promised, under oath, to give good and sincere advice on the subject matter, with one voice they signified their selection of the said Madame Catherine Dardinau, widow Rolland, as tutrix, and of Sieur Jean Baptiste Cornillau, as under-tutor, for the Rolland minor; and both willingly accepted the nomination, gave promise of honest performance of their duties, and took an oath.

(Signed): Jean Baptiste Cornilleau; Sablonniere; J. Monget; Labremont; Cailler; Garic, Notary.

Madame Dardinau widow Rolland, Laurent Bailly and La Grenade declared that they could neither write nor sign.

Homologation of
the deliberations
of the family
meeting.

Whereupon the undersigned Councillor Commissioner, in conformity with the conclusions of the Procureur General of the King, here present, homologated the

above procès-verbal of the deliberations of the family meeting, so that it may be executed according to its form and tenor; and ordered that the said Madame Catherine Dardinau widow Rolland shall remain tutrix, and the said Sieur Jean Baptiste Cornillau shall be the under-tutor for the Rolland minor; which appointments have been voluntarily accepted by both, who promised faithfully to perform the duties of their respective offices, and were duly sworn in, as it is required in such cases.

Given in the Council-chamber on the day, month and year above specified.

(Signed): Delaunay; Lafreniere.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 26.

No. 8430. 4 pp.

Mortgage granted
by Claude Joseph
Villars Dubreuil
to Boré for 75,000
livres, being an
extension of an
existing mortgage.

Before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, appeared Monsieur Claude Joseph Villars Dubreuil, Captain of the Militia, who acknowledged and confessed to have borrowed and received, on June 4, 1760, from Sieur Boré the sum of 75,000 livres, to be reimbursed and paid back within three years, which term has expired; but since

Monsieur Boré is willing to renew the said loan, and Monsieur Villars Dubreuil is willing to continue to enjoy same, until settlement of the colonial finances, the said Sr. Villars again acknowledged having received the sum of 75,000 livres from Sr. Boré, and promised and obligated himself to restore and return the said amount as soon as the finances of the colony will become normal; and as security he granted a mortgage on all his present and future property, electing his domicile, so far as the execution of these presents is concerned, in his residence, on Royal Street, in this city, where all acts and citations shall be served on him.

Done and passed in the Notarial Office of this city on July 26, 1763, in the morning, in the presence of Sieurs Pierre Marin Bary and Joseph Becat, duly qualified witnesses, residing here.

(Signed) : Villars; Boré; Jh. Becat; Bary; Garic, Notary.

Extension of time
of payment of the
above obligation.

August 29, 1763.—On August 29, 1763, in the morning, before the Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, personally appeared Mr. Claude Joseph Villars Dubreuil, Captain of the Militia; and Mr. Boré, also Captain of the Militia. Monsieur Villars Dubreuil, named in the foregoing act of mortgage, by these presents, objected to the time of payment set forth in the said act and stated that he would not pay Mr. Boré the sum of 75,000 livres owed him until adjustment of the financial situation in the colony; and he did hereby consent, promise and obligate himself to pay back and refund the said amount to Sr. Boré, or to the bearer of these presents, within six months from date, at the latest, in colonial currency; and did likewise consent that the foregoing act remain valid in its entirety, to be executed in its full form and tenor. And all of this was accepted by Sieur Boré.

Done and passed in the Notarial Office of this city, in the presence of Sieurs L. Mazange and Pierre Gauvain, witnesses, residing here.

(Signed) : Villars; Boré; L. Mazange; Gauvain, Jr.; Garic, Notary.

Petition to
obtain a certified
copy of the above
act from the
Minutes of the
Registry.

January 8, 1768.—Petition to Monsieur Foucault, Intendant and First Judge of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana:

Sieur Demazan has the honor to represent that despite the seizure he obtained from the Council of any amount which Monsieur Villars might owe to Sieur Boré, he was unable to ascertain what Sr. Villars owed Sr. Boré, as Sr. Villars so far has refused to submit to Monsieur de L'aunai

(Delaunay), Commissioner of this case, a statement of his business relations with Sieur Boré; therefore the only way for the petitioner to clear up the matter is to have a certified copy of the act of mortgage passed between Sieur Villars and Sieur Boré; that the said act is in the Minutes of the Registry, but the Clerk declined to grant a copy of same without specific authorization from the First Judge.

Wherefore petitioner appeals to the authority and justice of Your Excellency and prays that it may please Your Excellency to issue, beneath the present petition, an order to the said Clerk to furnish petitioner with a copy of the aforesaid mortgage. And justice will be done.

New Orleans, January 8, 1768. (Signed): de Mazan.

Petition granted.

January 8, 1768.—Having read the allegations of the above petition, we order Mr. Garic, Royal Notary, to deliver to Mr. Demazan, petitioner, a copy of the said mortgage.

New Orleans, January 8, 1768. (Signed): Foucault.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

July 30.

No. 8431. 2 pp.

Act of sale of
a plantation by
Antoine Robin
de Logny and
wife to Petit.

Before the Counsel and Royal Notary of the Province of Louisiana, residing in New Orleans, in the presence of the witnesses hereinbelow named and undersigned, personally appeared Monsieur Antoine Robin de Logny, Officer of the Militia of this city, and Madame Jeanne Dreux, his wife, duly authorized by him, who, by these presents, acknowledged and confessed to have sold, abandoned and delivered, with warranty against all troubles, mortgages, evictions and impediments whatsoever, to Sieur Petit, merchant of this city, purchaser, who also appeared and signified his acceptance in his own behalf and in behalf of his heirs and assigns, a plantation measuring twelve arpents frontage by the usual depth, together with all its appurtenances and improvements, and without reservations or retentions, situated in the suburbs and commonly called Chantilly (Gentilly), adjoining on one side the property of Mr. Dreux, and on the other side the property of Mr. Facinde (Fazende); the said sale having been executed by virtue of the order of Monsieur Foucault, dated June 10th last, issued beneath the petition of the aforesaid vendors, and in compliance with the usual procedure prescribed for judicial sales, for the sum of 10,000 livres in letters of exchange, accepted by the said vendors; and, as security, the purchaser granted a mortgage on all his property, movable and immovable, present and future, and especially on the said plantation, which he shall not alienate until payment in full.

It was furthermore agreed by the contracting parties that Madame Robin de Logny shall renew her consent to and approve and ratify the present contract of sale upon reaching her majority.

Executed in the Notarial Office of this city, on July 30, 1763, in the presence of Sieurs Marin Pierre Bary and Joseph Becat, duly qualified witnesses, residing in this city.

(Signed): Robin de Logny; Jeanne Dreux; Petit; Becat; Bary; Garic, Notary.

(Signed, in margin of first page): Devergés; De Reggio; Ducros.

(To be continued.)

✓ a

**INDEX TO THE SPANISH JUDICIAL RECORDS
OF LOUISIANA
LXXIII.**

November-December, 1784.
(Continued from January, 1942, Quarterly)

By LAURA L. PORTEOUS
(With Marginal Notes by Walter Prichard)

Spanish officials appearing in this installment:

Esteban Miro, Colonel of the Fixed Regiment of Infantry of this Place and Governor ad interim of the Province of Louisiana.

Martin Navarro, Intendant General of the Province of Louisiana.

Juan Doroteo del Postigo y Balderrama, Auditor of War and Assessor General of Louisiana.

Alcaldes: Juan Esteban (Jean Etienne) Boré; Francisco Maria de Reggio; Nicolas Forstall (1785).

Escribanos: Fernando Rodriguez; Rafael Perdomo.

Attorneys: Pedro Bertoniére; Antonio Mendez.

Appraisers: Francisco Broutin; Antonio Dejan; Francisco Blache.

Nicolas Fromentin, Deputy Sheriff.

Francisco Sanchez, Warden of the Royal Prison.

Josef Foucher, Treasurer of the Army and Royal Exchequer of the Province of Louisiana.

Juan Josef Duforest, Official Interpreter and Translator.

Luis Lioteau, Official Taxer for Costs of Court.

November 6, 1784.

**Nicolas Veber(t) vs.
Antonio Peytavin.**

No. 3307. 5 pp.

Court of Alcalde Francisco
Maria de Reggio.

The record opens with a certified copy of a mortgage, dated August 5, 1784, executed before Fernando Rodriguez, whereby Antonio Peytavin obligates himself to pay Nicolas Veber(t) 3260 pesos, namely, 1020 pesos within two months and the 2240 remaining within one year, all counted from this date. The said money has been lent to him without premium, or interest, which he

No Assessor.

Escribano, Fernando Rodriguez.

To foreclose a mortgage.

This suit brought to foreclose a mortgage illustrates the legal procedure followed in such cases, but there is nothing unusual in the proceedings.

acknowledges to have received, and because the Notary was not present at the delivery, the defendant renounces the exception (of non numerata pecunia) and grants a formal receipt for the abovesaid sum, and as security for this loan he mortgages a house and lot on Royal and St. Peter streets, the ground measuring 60 feet front by 83 deep, adjoined on one side by Juan Bautista Orso's place and on the other by Widow (name omitted) So and So's house. This real property must not be sold until the amount due will have been paid. He further gives the guaranty clause, as included, and renounces the laws in his favor with the general that prohibits it. Thus he authorizes and signs, the witnesses being Josef Becat, Manuel Galvez and Philip Guinault, residents, here present.

Nicolas Veber, through his Attorney, Pedro Bertonière, petitions, saying it is evident from the certified copy duly presented, that Antonio Peytavin, at date of maturity, owes him 1020 pesos, and although he has asked for payment several times he has not been able to obtain his money. Therefore, he prays for a writ of execution against all or any of the defendant's estate, its one-tenth and costs. Alferez de Reggio rules: The written document of obligation having been presented, a decree will be rendered later. On November 8, 1784, the Court decrees: Whereas, issue a writ of execution in favor of Nicolas Veber(t) against all or any of Antonio Peytavin's estate. And if he does not own sufficient movables to cover the debt of 1020 pesos, its one-tenth and costs, let the house mentioned in the written instrument be seized.

A marginal note stipulates that the writ of execution which was ordered has been issued.

The Writ: Let the Sheriff of this city, or in his place the Deputy Sheriff, request Antonio Peytavin to pay Nicolas Veber, at once, the sum of 1020 pesos he owes, and if he does not do so, take execution against all or any of his property sufficient to satisfy the debt, its one-tenth and costs. And if there are not enough movables to cover his indebtedness, seize the house belonging to the defendant, in accordance with the decree rendered this day. New Orleans, November 8, 1784. (Signed) Francisco Maria de Reggio; Fernando Rodriguez.

The record ends here.

November 18.

Augustin Allard petitions for a permit to sell a negro.

No. 84. 8 pp.

Court of Governor Esteban Miro.

Assessor, Juan del Postigo.

Escribano, Rafael Perdomo.

This case illustrates the legal procedure involved when an agent in New Orleans requests permission to sell a slave consigned to him by the owner, who resides in Santo Domingo. Upon legal proof that the agent has the proper authorization of the absent owner to sell said slave, the Court grants the necessary permit to make the sale.

for a good price. (Signed) L. H. Guarico (Cap Francais), September 25, 1784.

This letter is directed to Mr. Aug. Allard, at New Orleans. Annotated on the back: Cap the 25th of September 1784; Mr. L. Heraud; Received the 28th of October; Rx. (registered?) the 21st of November. There is a further annotation: Mr. G. Vuilleneuve at St. Marc; Cap the 29th. (?)

Mr. Allard petitions to present the above letter.

With this letter as a basis for his request, Augustin Allard sets forth that as the above exhibit shows, Luis Heraud, a resident of Guarico (Spanish name for the French city of Cap Francais), Santo Domingo, has empowered him to sell a mulatto called Geronimo Boré*, and having contracted with Luis de Macarty, to effect a sale, upon going to the present Escribano's office to have the necessary act of transfer drawn up, he refused to execute it, explaining that the said letter was not sufficient to authorize the petitioner to sell the slave, and realizing the justice of the refusal just cited, it occurs to him that in consequence of what he has related and not because he lacks the proper instrument to effect a sale, it may please the Court to receive the testimony of the

* Boré is not the slave's name. The writer of the petition has mistaken "bon" (good) for "Bora" or "Boré", badly written in Mr. Heraud's letter. What looks like "Gerome, Bora peruquier," should read: "Gerome bon peruquier" (Jerome, a good hair dresser). See also Juan Josef Du Forest's Spanish translation of this letter, reverse side of page 6, where the phrase is set down as "Jeronimo, buen peluquero."—L. L. P.

The first document filed is a letter written in French, dated Cap (Francais), September 25, 1784, written by L. Heraud to Mr. Augustin Allard and reads:

Sir: (Dear Sir) Under the protection of your brother, a merchant of Guarico (Cap Francais), I have the honor to send to you, on his boat, a mulatto named Jeronimo, a good hair dresser, tailor and hunter, and ask you to please sell him to the best advantage possible for Mr. Jammet's account and remit the full amount received directly to me.

I have the honor, My dear Sir, to be Your very humble and obedient servant, L. Heraud.

P. S. I further request you to please watch over him during the time that he will be at your option and that he may be sold L. H. Guarico (Cap Francais),

witnesses he will present, who, under oath and without delay, will declare that they know for a certainty that Luis Heraud has communicated with him by letter, duly presented, by which he authorized the recipient to sell a slave, and also to have them verify the writing and signature of the said letter. He further prays that when the abovementioned proceedings have been done, the depositions of his witnesses be delivered to him so that he may promote what is convenient to him.

In a secondary petition Mr. Allard states that in order to prove more fully what he has already explained, he prays Governor Miro, after the necessary formalities have been complied with, to decree that Geronimo be summoned to declare whether or not Don Luis is his lawful and real owner and that he has sent him to Mr. Allard for the purpose already stipulated.

In a third petition the plaintiff avers that, considering Geronimo and the other witnesses he will present do not speak Spanish, may it please the Court to have them examined by the Public Interpreter. Esteban Miro, on Juan del Postigo's advice, rules: The letter having been presented, let it be translated into Spanish. Admit the testimony this party offers, the taking of it to be entrusted to the Escribano, and done deliver the depositions to Mr. Allard. And considering the two minor petitions, as it is prayed.

Notification, acceptance
and oath.

On the said day, month and year (November 18, 1784), Juan Josef Duforest was personally notified of his appointment as interpreter, and he said he accepted and did accept and swore by God and the Cross, according to law, to proceed well and faithfully with the duty entrusted to him, to the best of his knowledge and understanding, without injuries to the parties.

The deposition of the
first witness.

In the city of New Orleans, on November 20, 1784, before the Escribano, appeared Alexo Landin, or Lasdin, a witness presented by Augustin Allard to give the required testimony, which he did through the Interpreter, Juan Josef Duforest, who received the oath taken by God and the Cross, according to law, under the charge of which he promised to speak the truth, and being examined upon the written document filed on page 2, when the letter that begins this proceeding was placed on manifest, he said that the writing and signature to it is that of Luis Heraud of Guarico, that the contents is true in all its parts, and that Mr. Heraud had sent the slave to Mr. Allard to be sold. He certifies that he knows the letter shown to him to have been signed by the said Luis Heraud, and that in accordance with same he delivered both

the letter and the slave to the aforementioned Augustin Allard. What he has declared is the truth, under charge of the oath he has taken. He is 58 years of age, and he signed with the interpreter, before the Escribano.

Testimony of the second witness.

Immediately after, Mr. Augustin Allard presented Bernardo Tremoulet as a witness, who took oath, through the Interpreter, before the Escribano, in virtue of the commission conferred upon him, under charge of which he promised to speak the truth, and upon examining the petition filed on page 2, he said it is true that he came as a passenger on Alexo Lardin's ship and that Luis Heraud, a merchant of Guarico, shipped a mulatto named Jeronimo Boré, on Lardin's vessel, to be delivered to Mr. Allard, with a letter authorizing the sale of the slave. He further states that the signature to the letter shown to him seems to be the same Mr. Heraud is accustomed to make. What he has declared is the truth. He is 30 years of age, and he signed. Bernard Tremoulet.

The mulatto, Geronimo, is the third witness.

On the said day, month and year, Augustin Allard presented the mulatto in Court. Oath was administered by the Escribano, taken by God and the Cross, according to law, under charge of which he promised to speak the truth, and when examined upon the contents of the foregoing written document, he answered through the Interpreter, that Mr. Jamet is his master, and the latter delivered him to Mr. Luis Heraud, in the Port of Guarico, to be shipped to this city, but he does not know why he was sent. Mr. Alexo Larden had charge of his person and it was he who turned him over to Mr. Allard. He said that what he has declared is the truth, under charge of his oath. He is 21 years of age, and he did not sign because he claimed he cannot write. His mark was made for him by the Interpreter.

The translation of the letter.

A Spanish translation of the French letter, made by Juan Josef Du Forest, follows.

Agustin Allard petitions for an act of sale.

Augustin Allard then petitions, setting forth that the testimony of the witnesses has been delivered to him, and considering that the truth of his statement in his foregoing representation may be proven from these depositions, may it please the Court to declare the letter as sufficient authorization for the sale, and in consequence whereof the present Escribano be ordered to draw up the necessary act of conveyance. Governor Miro, on Assessor Postigo's advice, receives this petition and later decrees:

Decree.

In the city of New Orleans, on November 23, 1784, Senor Don Esteban Miro, Colonel of the Fixed Regiment of this Place and

Governor ad interim here, having seen the testimony produced for Agustin Allard, said: That he must declare and does declare the letter as sufficient authorization and gives the aforementioned the power to sell the mulatto, named Geronimo, belonging to Luis Heraud, and for the greater force and validation of all of abovesaid he interposes and does interpose his authority and judicial decree in as much as he can and must according to law. For this is his decree, thus he has provided, ordered and signed, to all of which the Escribano attests. Fees 2 pesos. (Signed) Esteban Miro; Licenciado Postigo. Before Rafael Perdomo.

The record ends here.

November 19.

Luis Canela petitions to be granted his freedom.

No. 63. 10 pp.

Court of Alcalde Jean Etienne Boré.

No Assessor.

Escribano, Rafael Perdomo.

This case illustrates the legal procedure involved in granting permission to a slave to purchase his freedom from the succession of his deceased owner. The slave selects an appraiser, the Curator of the minor heirs of the deceased appoints another; and when these two appraisers are unable to agree upon the value of said slave, the Court appoints a third appraiser who places a value upon the slave. The proceedings printed here do not carry the case to its completion.

Notification, acceptation and oath.

ified, and he said that he accepted and did accept and swore by God and the Cross, according to law, to proceed well and faithfully with the estimation he has been ordered to make, and he signed, to which the Escribano attests.

Pedro Bertoniére offers no objections.

bord, in answer to the foregoing petition, states that he agrees and is willing to have a valuation placed on the slave so as to

A marginal note to the first petition specifies that it is presented by one who cannot write. (Signed) Perdomo.

Luis Canela, a negro slave belonging to the heirs of Maria Luisa Caramuche (Carmouche), sets forth that he wishes to obtain his freedom at the price of his valuation in the inventory of the late Mrs. Caramouche's estate. And in order to arrive at a just price and true estimate of the value of his person, he names Francisco Broutin as his appraiser, who must be notified for his acceptation and oath. The Curator of the minors must also be given notice so that he may appoint someone to act for them. Alcalde Boré rules: Let the above-mentioned appraiser be appointed. Send this petition to the Curator of the minors.

On the said day, month and year (November 19, 1784), Francisco Broutin was personally notified,

Pedro Bertoniére, Curator ad lites to the minor children of the late Luisa Caramuche, Widow Du-

have an act of emancipation drawn up. For this purpose he appoints Antonio Dejan, a person versed in such matters and who knows about the talents and capabilities of the said negro. Therefore, he prays the Court to confirm his selection and to order him, together with Luis Canela's appointee, to place a valuation upon him. Estevan Boré rules: Let the above-cited Appraiser be appointed. Notify him to this effect for his acceptance and oath, and done deliver the records of the case to the plaintiff so that he may promote what is convenient to him.

Notification, acceptance
and oath.

On the said day, month and year (November 22, 1784), the Escribano notified Antonio Dejan,

in person, and he said he accepted and did accept and swore by God and the Cross, according to law, to proceed well and faithfully with the estimation he has been ordered to make.

Luis Canela petitions
to have a day assigned
for his appraisement.

The plaintiff petitions to say that in consequence of the acceptations and oaths taken by the

two appraisers already named to place a value on his person, may it please the Court to assign a day and hour for this proceeding. Alcalde Boré accepts this petition and on November

Decree.

27, 1784, decrees: Whereas, let the following day, the 29th of the

current month, be assigned for the making of the estimate as has been requested. Notify the interested parties to this effect.

Appraisement.

In the city of New Orleans, on November 29, 1784, Estevan

Boré, Junior Alcalde Ordinario of this city and its jurisdiction for His Majesty, seated in his Hall of Audiences, caused to appear before him Francisco Broutin and Antonio De Jan, appraisers named to place a value on Luis Canela, in accordance with the foregoing decree. The Escribano was present and made them repeat the oaths previously taken, and in consequence they proceeded, most carefully, with the examination of the negro, as the case required, and having been in conference for a long while, debating upon the talents and circumstances of the said negro, they could not come to an agreement, because Mr. de Jan valued him at 1500 pesos and Francisco Broutin at 800. Under these conditions His Honor suspended the proceedings, in accordance with his faculties, so as to name a third in discord, for a decision in this matter, and they signed with His Honor, to which the Escribano attests. (Signed) Jean Etienne Boré; Francisco Broutin; Antonio Dejan. Before Rafael Perdomo.

Luis Canela asks the Court
to name a third in discord.

Luis Canela avers that in consequence of the disagreement between the two appraisers named

to place a value on his person, may it please His Honor to name

a third in discord to settle this difference, which cannot be done otherwise. Alcalde Boré receives this petition and on December 2nd decrees: Whereas, since the appraisers named have not been able to come to an agreement concerning a just price for the slave, His Honor said that using the faculties conferred upon him, and also in accordance with what has been represented by Luis, he must name and does name Francisco Blache as a third in discord, who must be notified for his acceptance and oath.

Notification, acceptance
and oath.

On the said day, month and year (December 2, 1784), Francisco Blache was personally notified, and he said he accepted and did accept and swore by God and the Cross, according to law, to proceed well and faithfully with the estimation he has been ordered to make by the foregoing decree, and he signed, to which the Escribano attests.

Estimation.

In the city of New Orleans, on December 3, 1784, Alcalde Juan Esteban Boré, seated in his Hall of Audiences, caused to appear before him Francisco Blache, the third in discord named to make an estimate in accordance with the foregoing decree, and having requested him to repeat the oath he had previously taken in this particular, and having placed the negro before him, he saw and examined him most carefully and minutely, and to the best of his knowledge and without injury to the party he valued the negro at 1150 pesos. With this estimate the proceeding is concluded. He signed with His Honor, to which the Escribano attests. (Signed) Jean Etienne Boré; Francisco Blache. Before Rafael Perdomo, Clerk of the Court.

The record ends here and is therefore unfinished.

November 24.

Proceedings brought by Antonio Blanco to be granted a permit to sell a lot of ground.

No. 27, 3 pp.

Court of Intendant Martin Navarro.

Assessor, Juan del Postigo.

The first entry, written in French, reads: I, the undersigned, Francois Cheval, certify and declare to have sold, this day, to one named Jean Louis Meunie, a free mulatto, a lot of ground on Hospital Street, adjoined on one side by Mr. Patarel's place and on the other by that of Sanebanno, a free mulatto. The said land measures 80 feet front by 120 deep, and is sold for 200 piastres, payable 100 piastres that I have received in cash and the other 100 payable in six months from this day. The above

Escribano, Rafael Perdomo. lot belongs to Mr. Antoine Blanc, for whom I obligate myself to have the act of sale passed before a Notary and to deliver the titles to him (the purchaser). Done in New Orleans, November 8, 1781. (Signed) Cheval.

This suit illustrates the legal procedure involved in obtaining permission to have properly recorded an Act of Sale of a piece of real estate which has previously been sold and transferred by a simple document, without any public record of said sale being made at the time.

Written below: I have received the sum of 100 pesos from Mr.

Magnon, the remainder due for the land that Mrs. Blanc sold to the said free mulatto. Dated New Orleans, February 20, 1782. (Signed) A. Blanc.

Antonio Blanc petitions, saying that according to the mortgage he has placed on his real property, in favor of the Royal Treasury, before Andres Almonester y Roxas, late Notary Public of this city, dated April 25, 1778, he did not include a piece of land sold in the year 1781, by his deceased wife during his absence from the city. Necessity caused Mrs. Blanc to sell by a simple document, duly presented, the aforesaid lot to a free mulatto, Juan Luis, of this place. The said Juan Luis now requests the execution of a public instrument giving him a valid title to the said land. Therefore, he prays to have an act of sale passed before the present Notary Public and Clerk of the Court, and a copy of same delivered to the purchaser. Martin Navarro, on Juan del Postigo's advice, rules: Send the above petition to the Fiscal of the Royal Treasury.

The record ends here.

November 24.

Carlos Tarascon vs. Pedro Bonne.

No. 3302. 4 pp.

Court of Alferez Real Francisco Maria de Reggio.

Assessor, Juan del Postigo.

Escribano, Fernando Rodriguez.

To collect a debt.

This suit to collect a debt illustrates the legal procedure followed in enforcing payment when the debtors appear reluctant to meet their obligation. The case was finally settled out of Court.

Carlos Tarascon sets forth in a petition that, as appears from the account Francisco Roquigny has presented in the proceedings brought against Pedro Bonne and Estevan Arlu, the defendants owe him 120 pesos for a negro leased to them (See 1784, September 16, No. 64, 12 pp. Luisa Roquigny Hery vs. Fernando Rodriguez), and whereas the witnesses who have signed the said account have declared it to be correct, he prays for a Writ of Execution against the persons and estates of Pedro Bonne and Estevan Arlu, for the full amount of the debt, its one-tenth and costs. He swears by God that this sum is due him and has not been paid. Alferez de Reggio receives this petition and later decrees:

Decree.

In the city of New Orleans, on November 24, 1784, Francisco Maria de Reggio, Regidor Perpetuo-Alferez Real and Alcalde Ordinario for His Majesty, having seen these proceedings, said: He must issue and does issue a Writ of Execution against the persons and estates of Pedro Bonne and Estevan Arlu for the sum of 120 pesos, its one-tenth and costs, caused or to be caused until the real and effective payment, for this is his judgment, thus he has decreed, ordered and signed. Fees 12 reales. (Signed) Francisco Maria de Reggio; Licenciado Postigo. Before Fernando Rodriguez, Clerk of the Court.

A marginal note specifies that Rodriguez attests that the Writ was issued and delivered to the party.

Writ.

Let the Sheriff, or in his place the Deputy Sheriff, request Messrs. Bonne and Arlu to pay Carlos Tarascon the sum of 120 pesos, immediately, as it appears they owe him this amount, and if they do not do so, take execution against their persons and estates sufficient to satisfy the abovesaid, its one-tenth and costs. The property seized must be placed in the Public Depository of this city, at the disposition of this Court, as by decree rendered today. For thus he has ordered, New Orleans, November 24, 1784. (Signed) Francisco Maria de Reggio. By Order of His Honor. (Signed) Fernando Rodriguez.

The Deputy Sheriff's Report.

In the city of New Orleans, on November 29, 1784, before the Escribano, appeared Nicolas Fromentin, Deputy Sheriff, and he said that in virtue of the Writ on the reverse side of this page, he requested Pedro Bonne and Estevan Arlu to pay Tarascon the sum of 120 pesos. They did not satisfy their debt, so the Sheriff seized a negress, named Mariana, and in Testimony whereof he sets this down as a matter of record, which he signed and to which the Escribano attests.

Receipt.

In the city of New Orleans, on November 29, 1784, before the Escribano, appeared Charles Tarascon, who said he acknowledges to have received the sum of 120 pesos from Pedro Bonne, the full amount of the debt due him. The Escribano attests to the payment because delivery was made in his presence. The plaintiff did not sign because he said he could not write, and he prayed one of the witnesses to sign for him, who were Francisco Broutin, Adrian de la Place and Santiago Lemaire, residents of this city, here present. (Signed) Francisco Broutin. Before Fernando Rodriguez, Escribano Publico.

November 27.

Executory Process, Fernando Rodriguez vs. The Francisco Muñoz Succession.

No. 144. 2 pp.

Court of Alferez Francisco Maria de Reggio.

Assessor, Juan del Postigo.

To collect a debt.

This suit brought to collect a debt due to the Clerk of the Court by the former Warden of the Royal Prison, now deceased, for fees arising from services rendered in the matter of punishing certain slaves, is chiefly interesting to the student of the social history of Spanish colonial Louisiana, for the information it contains as to the manner of punishment of said slaves. The legal procedure followed in the case presents nothing unusual.

to prove the justice of his claim, he prays the Court to order the present Warden of the Royal Prison, who assisted Muñoz, during his administration, to declare to the truth of the petitioner's statement, and to decree that he be paid the sum demanded from the Muñoz estate. Alferez de Reggio, on Assessor Postigo's advice, rules: Let the present Warden swear and declare to the contents of this petition. Entrust the taking of his deposition to the present Escribano, and done deliver it to this party.

The Declaration.

In the city of New Orleans, on November 29, 1784, pursuant to the foregoing decree, the Escribano went to the Royal Prison of this city to receive Warden Josef Sanchez' declaration. Oath was administered, which was taken by God and the Cross, according to law, under charge of which he promised to speak the truth, and on being examined upon the tenor of the foregoing petition, he declared that the 9 negroes treated of in this suit were punished in the following manner, 5 of them publicly in the Plaza of this city, for which punishment nothing was paid to Fernando Rodriguez. The remaining 4, who go to make up the 9, were lashed by the executioner, but as yet their master has not paid the legal fees for his services. He answered that what he has declared is the truth, under charge of his oath, and that he is 40 years of age. He signed, to which the Escribano

Fernando Rodriguez sets forth that Francisco Muñoz owes him 54 pesos which should be deducted from the money he has received from several persons for having released 9 negroes from prison, who had been punished for running away. He should receive 6 pesos for each one liberated as fees due him (as Clerk of the Court), and although he has reminded Antonio Ramis two or three times since Mr. Muñoz' death to settle this matter, he maintains that the latter's estate does not owe the plaintiff anything, and insists that it is Mr. Dupar(d) who is indebted to him for 59 pesos which he has never paid. This is a mistake. The 54 pesos he demands is for the first 9 negroes let out. Mr. Dupard's slaves were punished after the other 9 mentioned above were released from prison. Therefore,

attests. (Signed) Francisco Sanchez. Before Rafael Perdomo, Clerk of the Court.

The record ends here and is therefore unfinished.

December 4.

Proceedings brought by Ignacio de Lino Salmes (Delino Chalmette) to prove that he paid the Royal Treasury 4000 pesos for his Commission to the rank of Captain.

No. 145. 4 pp.

Court of Intendant Martin Navarro.

Assessor, Juan del Postigo.

Escribano, Rafael Perdomo.

This suit brought by an officer in the Spanish military force in Louisiana, who had purchased his promotion to the rank of Captain, to effect cancellation of the personal note which he had signed to guarantee payment of the 4,000 pesos which he paid for the promotion, is mainly interesting to the student of social history of Spanish colonial Louisiana as an illustration of the practice of selling both civil and military offices under the Spanish system. The case came before the Court of the Intendant, who had jurisdiction in all suits involving the public revenues of the colony.

Josef Foucher's declaration.

of this Province, certifies that among the many receipts delivered to him, as cash, in the money chest of his predecessor, the late Bernardo de Otero, when he took possession of the Royal Exchequer, was a note for 4000 pesos, drawn up by Ignacio de Lino, wherein he promised to pay, at the end of December 1780, what was due for his Commission to the Rank of Captain of the Second Battalion of the Fixed Regiment of this Place. This Office was conceded to the said Ignacio de Lino, by verbal order of His Excellency, Conde de Galvez, Governor and Superintendent General of this Province, at the time the note was executed. This sum was paid at date of maturity, as the abovementioned obligation stipulates. In fulfillment of the foregoing decree, he sets the present down in New Orleans, on December 6, 1784. (Signed) Josef Foucher.

Ignacio Delino presents a second petition.

The plaintiff sets forth that the present proceedings were instituted to prove that the personal note he drew up in favor of Bernardo de Otero was for the

Ignacio de Lino Salmes (Chalmette), Captain of the Regiment of this Place, petitions to say that for ends convenient to him may it please His Lordship to order Josef Foucher, Treasurer of the Army and Royal Exchequer of this Province, to certify whether or not he has paid 4000 pesos into the Royal Coffers for the Commission to the Rank of Captain he has obtained, and that the personal note he drew up in favor of the late Bernardo Otero, Accountant for the Army, was given as security, until the payment of the sum mentioned was actually made. Intendant Navarro, on Assessor Postigo's advice, rules: As it is prayed.

Josef Foucher, Treasurer of the Army and Royal Exchequer

The plaintiff sets forth that the present proceedings were instituted to prove that the personal

note he drew up in favor of Bernardo de Otero was for the

payment of 4000 pesos for his Commission to the Rank of Captain of the Fixed Regiment of this Place, that he obtained, etc. The records of the case, together with Josef Foucher's certification given at his instance, have been delivered to him, and considering that these documents verify what he has stated, may it please the Court to order the necessary cancellation written on the margin of the note executed in favor of the Royal Treasury and that costs be taxed, which he will promptly pay in full. Martin Navarro, on Juan del Postigo's advice, receives this petition and on December 9 decrees:

Decree.

Whereas: Let the present Escribano write the necessary cancellation on the margin of the personal note drawn up by Ignacio Delino, in favor of Bernardo de Otero, for 4000 pesos, considering that it was deposited in trust to assure the payment that the said Ignacio Delino must make to the Royal Treasury for his Commission to the Rank of Captain he has obtained, so as to prove that this sum has been paid, as may be noted from the certification given by Josef Foucher. Let the costs be taxed and paid by this party.

Received, in advance, Assessor's fees, 12 reales.

(Signed) Martin Navarro; Licenciado Postigo.

[Note: If further costs were taxed, the page containing the accounting has become detached from this record.—L. L. P.]

December 11.

Criminal Proceedings instituted by Pedro Acher to prove that the negress, Pelecy, robbed him of 700 pesos.

No. 114. 11 pp.

Court of Alcalde Francisco Maria de Reggio.

Assessor, Juan del Postigo.

Escribano, Rafael Perdomo.

This criminal proceeding brought by a citizen against a free negress who was hired to care for his living quarters is an attempt to fix upon her the robbery of his treasure chest which had been broken open or unlocked and his money stolen. After an investigation of the case, the Court refused to prosecute the negress, as the Court appears to have been convinced of her innocence of the charge.

This suit begins with a certified copy of a Notarial Act, dated December 9, 1784, executed before Rafael Perdomo, by which Pedro Acher appoints Antonio Mendez his Attorney, to represent his interests, particularly in the prosecution of the free negress, Peleci, for robbing him of a sum of money. He suspects her of having committed this crime.

Pedro Acher presents the above procuration and sets forth that he makes a criminal charge against the free negress, Peleci, because she, through a lack of the fear of God and respect for the justice of the Courts, has broken open his trunk, in the night, and taken from it money belonging to him, namely, 260 pesos in silver, 2 doubloons, 1 ounce of gold, 1 bill of exchange for 150 pesos and another for 125 pesos, 4 notes of 2 pesos each. The negress is the only one who knew where he kept

his money, therefore no one else could have taken it. He prays the Court to order her to make a declaration so that by this means it may be ascertained whether or not she committed the crime, and to seize all her property, and done place it in the Public Depository. In a secondary petition, the plaintiff prays for the provisional arrest of Pelecy, charging the Warden of the Prison to make this said arrest, and that no person be permitted to hold communication with her. Alferez de Reggio, on Assessor Postigo's advice, rules: Let the declaration of the free negress, Pelaci, be taken, as requested. The demand to seize her property is denied, for the present, also the plea for her arrest, until the defendant has given the necessary testimony, the taking of which is entrusted to (the Escribano.)

Declaration.

In the city of New Orleans, on December 17, 1784, before the Escribano appeared a free negress, named Lali, called Pelasis, from whom the Escribano, in virtue of the commission conferred upon him by the foregoing decree, received the oath, taken by God and the Cross, according to law, under charge of which she promised to speak the truth of what she knew and upon whatever she might be questioned, and on having been asked about the contents of the principal part of the written petition presented, she said that she has been hired to go to clean the house in which Mr. Acher lives, early in the morning, and to go back to make his bed, at night. On the day the robbery was discovered, she went at the customary hour and found Mr. Acher dressing. He asked her for the key of his chest. She answered she knew nothing of it in as much as he always kept it in his pocket. Then they began to look for it and found the chest opened and the key behind it and that the money had been removed. Don Pedro said to the witness: "Where is the money?" And she answered that she did not know anything about it because she does not sleep in the house, and that he was there and always kept the key in his possession. She stated that what she has declared is the truth, under charge of her oath, she is 21 years of age, and she did not sign as she does not know how to write.

Pedro Acher petitions again for the arrest of the negress.

The plaintiff sets forth that, in order to prove the truth of what he stated in his foregoing petition, he requested a declaration from the negress, as there were no witnesses present when she committed the crime; she denies the charge, however, and as no pressure has been brought to force her to confess the robbery, therefore he prays to have the negress placed in the public Prison, charging the Warden of the Prison to make the arrest, that she be deprived of all communication with anyone, so that by this means he may be able to protect his own interests. Alcalde Forstall, who has received

the case from his predecessor, on Juan del Postigo's advice, rules: The imprisonment that this party requests, is denied.

[Translator's Note:—The record ends here. The Court seems to have believed in the woman's innocence from the beginning. As far as the records show, no writ of arrest was ever issued.—L. L. P.]

December 16.

Francisco Caisergues petitions for a permit to sell a negro.

No. 110. 12 pp.

Court of Governor Esteban Miro.

Assessor, Juan del Postigo.

Escribano, Rafael Perdomo.

This case illustrates the legal procedure involved when an agent in New Orleans sought permission to sell a slave consigned to him by the owner, who was a resident of Santo Domingo. Upon proper proof of legal authorization from the owner to effect the sale, the Court grants to the agent the permit requested.

The first entry is a Power of Attorney, dated Cap Francais, Island and Coast of Santo Domingo, October 20, 1784, by which Joseph Duny empowers Francisco Caisergues to act for him. This Notarial Act reads:

Before the undersigned Notary of the King, at Cap Francais, Island and Coast of Santo Domingo, residing there, was present, Mr. Joseph Duny, merchant of this city of Cap and living in the Parish of Our Lady of the Assumption, who, by these presents, gives full, entire, general and special power of Attorney to Mr. Francois Caisergues, merchant of New Orleans, so that acting for him and in his name he may sell his little mulattress, Luisa Victoria, aged 3 years, sent to him by the constituent for that purpose, to

all, or any person, for whatever price, charges, clauses and conditions, the agent may see fit, who is empowered to give discharges and acquittances for the sum he will receive, and in default of payment, by the purchaser, of either a part, or the whole, to take legal action against him before the Judges in New Orleans, without reserve. The product from this sale will be disposed of according to the advice the constituent will give his agent to this effect, by letter. He is further empowered, in case it should be necessary, to draw up all legal demands and to prosecute them until definitive sentence will be rendered, and to put them into execution by lawful means; to seize, arrest, and even to disembargo, to proceed with the sale of the effects that have been seized, to receive large, or small amounts until entire payment will be made, to disembargo the effects seized, after sentences of execution have been passed; to plead, to appeal, to elect a domicile, to appoint agents and lawyers, to revoke appointments and, if the case requires it, to elect and substitute all or any persons the said agent may find convenient, to revoke the said substitutions and to cause persons so ap-

pointed to give an account of what they have administered, and in general for the agent to do whatever the circumstances require in the same way the constituent would if he, himself, were present in New Orleans, and should more special and general powers be needed, other than he has mentioned, by these presents, which will be valid for all time until revocation, he grants them. And in Testimony whereof he promises, obligates, etc. Done and authorized in Cap and in the Office of Archives, on the morning of October 20, 1784, and signed by the said constituent, with us the undersigned Notaries, in the original of these presents, which remain in the possession of Rivry, one of them. (Signed) Joseph Duny; F. Tash; L. Rivry.

We, Jean Baptiste Juillin Busson, Counsellor of the King Seneschal, Civil and Criminal Judge of the Royal Court of Cap, certify, to whom it may concern, that the signatures placed at the end of these presents are the true ones of Notaries Tash and Rivry of this Jurisdiction, to whom must be given entire faith and credit. In testimony whereof we have delivered these presents, and affixed the Seal of this jurisdiction thereon. Given in our Office at Cap Francais, October 23, 1784. (Signed) Busson. The Sealing Wax Seal.

Francisco Caisergues
petitions to have the
above Procuration translated.

Francisco Caisergues petitions to say that, for ends convenient to him, may it please the Court to order the Procuration, which duly accompanies this, conferred upon him by Josef Duny, resident of Port au Prince (Cap Francais), translated from French to Spanish. Governor Miro, on Assessor Postigo's advice, rules: As it is prayed. The Spanish translation follows.

Francisco Caisergues
petitions to have the
Procuration declared
sufficient to effect a sale.

Mr. Caisergues again petitions, this time setting forth that, as he has been qualified by Mr. Duny's Power of Attorney to alienate and sell his mulatress named Victoria, for the greater formality and security of this sale, may it please the Court to authorize him to that effect, so that whenever a purchaser presents himself, the sale may take place, interposing its authority and judicial decree for its greater validation and force, in as much as it has place in law. Esteban Miro, on Juan del Postigo's advice, receives this petition and later decrees:

Decree.

In the city of New Orleans, on January 21, 1785, Esteban Miro, Colonel of the Fixed Regiment of this Place, Governor ad interim of Louisiana, having seen these records, said: That he must declare and does declare, as sufficient, the Procuration granted by Joseph Duny, in Cap Francais, on October 23, 1784, to Francisco Caisergues, to sell a little mulatress, named Luisa Victoria, aged 3 years, and in order to enable the said Mr. Caisergues to execute same, His Lordship authorizes and does authorize him, in as much as he can and must, for this is his

decree, thus he has provided, ordered and signed, to which the Escribano attests. Fees 16 reales. (Signed) Estevan Miro; Licenciado Postigo. Before Rafael Perdomo.

Mr. Caisergues petitions for a taxation of costs.

Francisco Caisergues petitions for a taxation of the costs of the case, which he agrees to pay

promptly. Governor Miro, on Assessor Postigo's advice, rules: As it is prayed.

Notification, acceptance and oath.

On the said day, month and year, the Escribano personally notified Luis Lioteau, who said he

accepted and did accept and swore by God and the Cross, according to law, to proceed well and faithfully with the taxation he has been ordered to make.

Mr. Caisergues asks for a certified copy of these proceedings.

In a final petition, Francisco Caisergues sets forth that since these proceedings have been con-

cluded, that in order to make evident to the interested party all the work and expenses caused in the matter, may it please His Lordship to direct the present Escribano to provide him with a certified copy of this suit, authorized in public form in a way that may have credit, and he will promptly pay all just and due fees. Governor Miro rules: As it is prayed, upon the payment of all just fees.

[Note: The Escribano, pursuant to the foregoing decree, gave a copy of these proceedings on 20 pages of common paper. New Orleans, February 22, 1785.]

Taxation of costs.

Costs are taxed at 9 pesos, 3 reales, by Luis Lioteau, on February 14, 1785.

December 18.

Proceedings instituted by Francisco Caisergues to sell some slaves.

No. 123. 13 pp.

Court of Governor Esteban Miro.

Assessor, Juan del Postigo.

Escribano, Rafael Perdomo.

This case is similar to the preceding one, and it contains no items of interest not found in that case.

This case is similar to the preceding one. It begins with a certified copy of a French Power of Attorney, issued in Cap Francais, October 11, 1784, by which Jean Robert empowers Francisco Caisergues to sell a slave, named Bibianne (Vivian?), a creole, aged about 26, with her three mulattress daughters, Sophie, aged 10 years; Victoire, called Eglee, 8; and Lucille, called Fillette, about 10 or 11 months old.

Mr. Caisergues presents the above Procuration, and for ends convenient to him prays to have it translated into Spanish from the French. Esteban Miro, on Juan del Postigo's advice, rules: As it is prayed.